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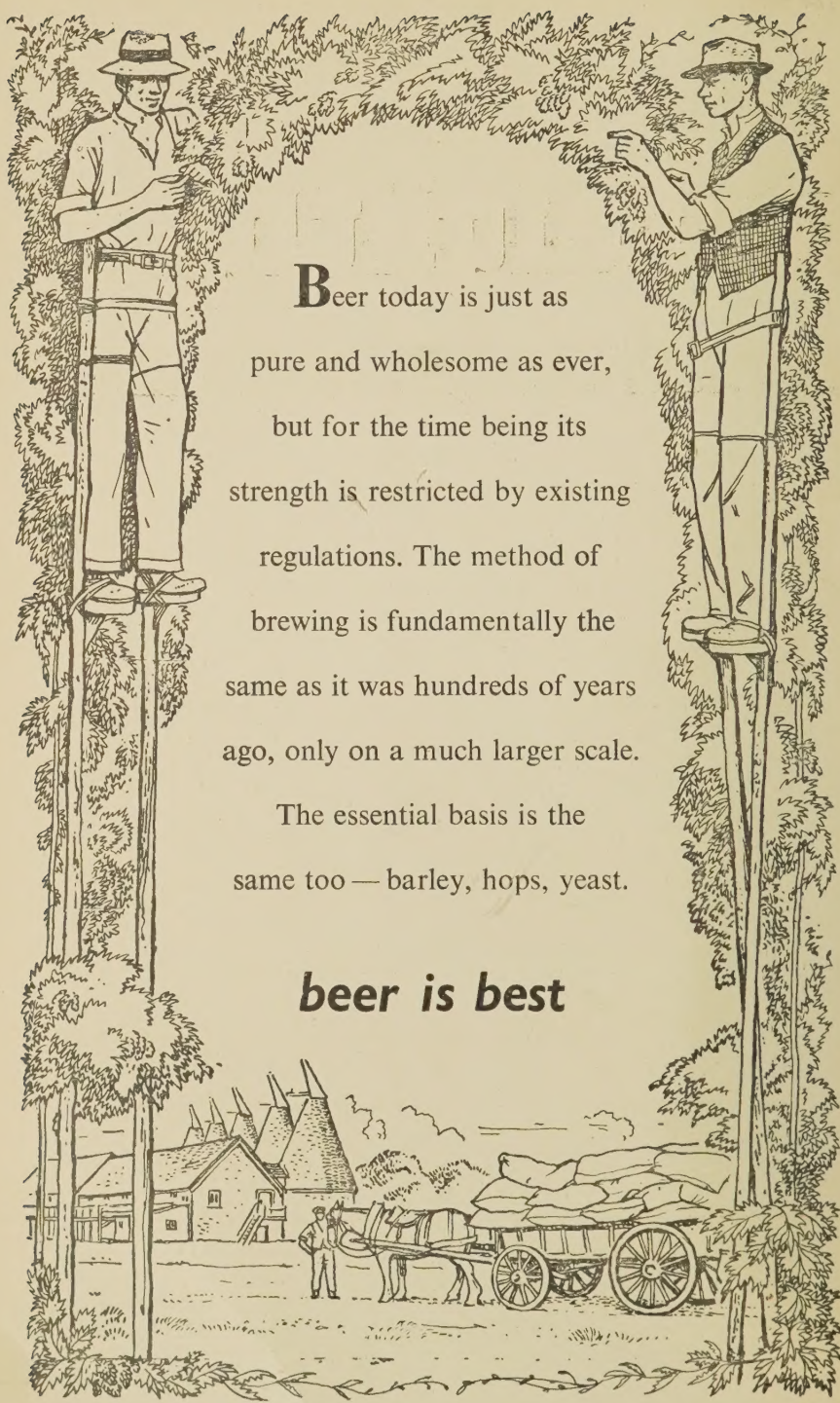
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# THE FORTNIGHTLY

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JANUARY, 1950

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## AIR ACHIEVEMENT

BY AIR MARSHAL DOUGLAS COLYER

TO the average reader of the newspapers who takes a mild interest in the progress of aviation, 1949 will stand out as a year in which the British industry has made an immense step forward to find itself well in the forefront of aeronautical developments. And generally speaking, he will be justified in his conclusion, for this year has witnessed the emergence of new types of British aircraft, both civil and military, which are in advance of any produced by our foreign competitors in the industry. Nevertheless, the idea of a single, unrelated stride between one year and the next would give a wrong picture and do an injustice to those thousands of men and women—policy makers, directors, designers and operators—whose vision and painstaking work over a period of years, has borne such magnificent fruit during the past twelve months. One of the greatest possible misconceptions about the business of producing aircraft is the notion that a new type of aeroplane or aero engine can be engendered and brought to maturity in a year or two or three. A single prototype, yes, but the prototype is but the first step in a long and often weary journey until the new type is in series production and can take its place in the squadrons or on the airlines of the world. And, thus, the material achievements of this year are but visible witnesses to the foresight and the unwavering determination not only of the producers, but of the ministries who control the production policy and, in many cases, foot the bill for all the complicated development work involved.

The aeroplanes which were to be seen for the first time at the display of the Society of Aircraft Constructors at Farnborough last September were, for the most part thought out and put on the drawing board several years ago. The appearance of some of the more sensational of them, in all their beauty of form and speed, earlier than similar aircraft of other nations is a triumphant proof of the fact that our wartime concentration on rather conventional types of military aircraft did not blunt the genius of our designers or handicap our ability to take advantage of the possibilities inherent in the jet engine and in new constructional and navigational techniques. Indeed, though, owing to the fact that their industry was able to go on producing civil types of aircraft during the war while we concentrated

on the military, the Americans have up to now been able to act as the only source from which the rest of the world has been able to purchase transport aircraft, our scratch position in the race may, in the end, have turned out to our advantage. When, once a great aircraft production line has been planned and set in motion, it is hard, both practically and psychologically, to stop it and turn to something vastly different without great loss of time and money. Thus the United States constructors, full up with orders for all the world, have been constrained to carry on with the production of their existing types. This almost inevitably hampers new and radically different design unless and until a sudden, inescapable jolt is administered, such as happened this year at Farnborough. But, once it has happened, the American industry with its vast financial resources and production facilities is in a position to achieve results rapidly, and it would be wrong to think that the one or two years' start which we now have in jet powered aircraft will not be rapidly reduced unless we put all our energies into turning our technical lead into actual aircraft on the airlines and in the air forces of the world.

Though jet-propelled fighter aircraft are now normal military equipment and have, indeed, been operating in many of the world's air forces since the latter days of the war, the jet-propelled transport aeroplane has until very recently been rather a dream of the future than a practical means of transport. It is true that a Vickers Viking fitted with two Rolls Royce Nene gas-turbine engines flew as long ago as April 1948 and covered the route between London and Paris in under half an hour, but this was admittedly an experimental trial of jet engines in an airframe designed for ordinary piston engines. Since then solid progress has continued to be made in the realm of jet engined transports and the Vickers Viscount, the Armstrong Whitworth Apollo, the Handley Page Hermes V, to mention only a few, are a proof to the world that the future of air transport lies in the direction of jet engined aircraft, though for years to come and on certain routes and stages of the airline network, there will be room for such modern orthodox piston-engined aircraft types as the Airspeed Ambassador. It is interesting to observe that this factor has not been overlooked by our manufacturers, and that the British industry is capable, during this interim period, when the new problems of the commercial operation of jet aircraft are still far from being completely solved, of continuing to provide the operators with normal reciprocating-engined aeroplanes in most ranges and sizes. Some of the constructors have designed their aircraft for either ordinary piston engines or jets—the Bristol 175 airliner for the Empire routes is a case in point, as is the Handley Page Hermes in its Mark IV and Mark V guises respectively.

There can, however, be little doubt that it is the jet engine—whether



in the form of a gas turbine operating a propeller (the turbo-prop) for shorter distances up to 800 or 1,000 miles, or as a straight turbo-jet engine, utilizing the thrust of its own combustion, for the long hauls—which will be the normal power plant of the future, and the application of the jet engine to the military bomber could not be long delayed in an era when the bombers' fighter adversary has become almost universally jet-propelled. The appearance this year of the English Electric Company's Canberra Rolls Royce Avon twin-engined bomber was therefore a welcome but no more than logical development.

But, without detracting from the value of the achievements in every part of the British aircraft industry, two performances have particularly struck the public imagination, not only at home, but throughout the world and not excepting the United States. These are the first flights of the de Havilland Comet, a passenger airliner, with its four de Havilland Ghost turbines, and of the Bristol Brabazon I, the world's largest airliner, at present powered by Bristol Centaurus piston engines and capable of taking 100 passengers non-stop between London and New York. In these two achievements are seen the dawn of a great new era in air travel, when the fantasies of a Jules Verne or an H.G. Wells appear to be within an ace of becoming commonplaces: when the *Queen Mary* of the air is just round the corner, and when going to New York for luncheon will be no more difficult than coming up to London from the country for a day's shopping. To one who looks back on the air achievements of the last thirty years since the first commercial air flights between the European capitals, it would indeed appear presumptuous to scoff at the most optimistic picture of air travel as it may be in twenty years' time. But it is important to realize that much hard and painstaking work lies ahead not only in the process of developing these two lovely aircraft from prototypes to airliners on which one can buy a ticket for New York or Australia, but also in the equipping of the air routes and airports to take them. Air transportation is a comparatively new business, one might almost say a new science, for it involves the use of an element of which little was known empirically forty years ago, and in which the rapidity of progress in the means of transport has sometimes outstripped the progress of scientific knowledge. Radar, meteorology, navigation have all made astounding progress but almost more rapid have been the operating possibilities of the aeroplanes which have streamed in ever improving types from the factories.

We find ourselves now face to face with the new problems posed by the coming of the jet airliner—likely to be in fairly general service within little more than two years—and of the very large aircraft requiring a specially big airport with long runways for its operation. Of these the first problem must be solved as a matter of urgency



before the jets are in general service. The second may be solved either by the provision of suitable aerodromes all along the air routes or by restricting their use to the North Atlantic route. Alternatively it may be decided to return to aircraft of moderate size as being more suitable and economical to operate.

Let us consider first the operating conditions of the jet airliner. Two peculiarities distinguish it especially from the ordinary piston engined aeroplane. It gives the best results at an altitude of 35-40,000 feet, as compared with the ordinary passenger aeroplane's 20,000 feet operative ceiling, and it cannot be stacked—that is to say, kept waiting over an airport while other aircraft are brought down or sent off in conditions of poor visibility on the ground. When the jet aircraft arrives at its destination, it must be brought straight in to land, for the consumption of fuel at low altitudes is prohibitive.

The jet airliner, averaging a speed of 450 miles an hour at a height of 40,000 feet, must possess an air conditioning system which keeps the inside of the fuselage at a pressure comparable with that at, say, 8,000 feet of altitude, thus obviating the need to supply oxygen to the occupants by means of the inconvenient masks of former days. It encounters, too, meteorological conditions which may give winds, favourable or adverse, of anything up to 150 miles per hour. It must, therefore, have available to it a meteorological service which can supply data to the pilot of the state of the weather in the upper air, to enable him to make a plan for his flight so as to take the best operational advantage of these conditions.

Then the jet's need to be given a clear run in to land immediately on arrival poses a new series of problems which are not easy to solve in the present stage of our control and navigational techniques. Ideally, we should be able to bring the aircraft down on to the runway in bad, or even no visibility with as little difficulty or loss of time as in clear weather, but though there are promising systems in sight, we are as yet some way from a real solution. Short of this, the only safe method is to receive the "all clear" for an immediate landing at the end of a flight before the aircraft takes off from the ground at the start of it, a somewhat hampering procedure for a busy airport.

The problem of the ultra-large airliner is also a complex one. Not only is the availability of airports sufficiently large to handle them a necessity involving much time and enormous expense, probably quite beyond the resources of all but the richest countries, but the initial expense of building such monsters may hamper rather than encourage the popularization of air travel. Certainly, after safety, speed is the next chief requirement in air transport, since speed is the one unchallengeable advantage which it possesses over surface means of travel. Therefore the airline operator must offer the greatest possible speed to the passenger, and after speed, frequency of services



to enable him to choose the time most convenient to him. The ultra large aircraft probably costs much more than twice as much as one carrying half its number of passengers, but can offer only half the frequency of service given equal speeds, thus restricting the passengers' freedom of choice of time to travel.

Maintenance, too, is likely to be much slower and more complicated on the large aircraft, meaning a greater proportion of time on the ground between flights, in other words, less intensive utilization of the material. But the lesson which is being brought home more and more clearly to every operator is that the only way to make profits is by intensive operation of material, with the least possible time consistent with safety spent on the ground for maintenance and overhaul. By such means, coupled with the high speeds to which we are now looking forward, a great intensity of services, with a good spacing in time to suit the needs of the traveller, can be maintained with comparatively few aircraft. And, since an airline, like any other form of transport, should provide carrying capacity in proportion to the amount of traffic offering, the medium-sized airliner gives the operator greater flexibility in offering to the public just as much air transportation as it will buy. For these and other reasons, many of those in the airline business best qualified to judge think the 50 passenger airliner about the optimum size of vehicle to put into service in the foreseeable future.

This is not to say that the production of the really big airliner should not have been undertaken. There are problems of utilization, of upkeep, of handling, of passenger comfort which need to be studied for big aircraft and which can be studied only at life size. It is in keeping with the clarity of vision which has characterized the approach to the problem of air transportation that the money should have been forthcoming to build the Brabazon and to plan to put a series of Brabazons on the North Atlantic route. It may well be that the travelling public will take eagerly to them with their lounges and dining saloons and cocktail bars just as they always have flocked to the largest and most luxurious liners on the sea routes. What seems very probable is that, ten or twenty years hence, the travelling public will be thoroughly conditioned to the air and that then there will be room on the air lines for as much air transport as the various countries are likely to be able to provide, and that, according to the conditions on the various routes, so there will be provided jet, turbo-prop or piston engines, small, medium and large aircraft, first, second and third class accommodation, express, slow and freight services. Then, if not before, the super-airliners will come into their own, and it will be well that we should have accumulated experience in building and operating them.

It is inevitable that we, like the Americans and the Dutch, should



pay particular attention to the developments of our trans-Atlantic and Empire routes and our designers must now be considering the sort of aeroplanes which we think we should have on these routes for the next ten or fifteen years. It is hardly possible to attempt to look forward further than that, though it must be remembered that the life of a type of transport aircraft can be taken at about ten years and that the aircraft produced in 1955 may be expected to continue in service until 1965 or thereabouts. To some extent, therefore, the aircraft which is designed now must be, as far as human foresight can make it so, the sort of aeroplane in which the public will not be unwilling to fly in fifteen years' time, at least as far as standards of safety, reliability and reasonable comfort are concerned. Recently a number of important members of the air transport industry, on both sides of the Atlantic, have been giving their views of the requirements of the public in the really modern airliner, and a synthesis of their ideas may give us some notion of what we may expect to experience on the air lines when the next generation of transport aircraft takes the air. It will be seen that the operator's dream is not so very far beyond what we were able to see in prototype at Farnborough last year, an encouraging sign that we are designing on the right lines.

All our experts agree that, within the manufacturing limits which appear at present to be set for aircraft of the size of an economically remunerative airliner, it is impossible to have too much speed : the faster you can get your passenger to his destination, the better he will be pleased. As to range, it is desirable to be able to cover the distance between starting point and final destination in one stage, provided this does not mean such a long flight as to be extremely fatiguing to the passenger or require double banking of the crew. Thus the stage London-New York non-stop at 450 miles per hour is a reasonable single flight : London-Australia non-stop, even were it possible, would be too long. For general purposes, single stage hops of about 2,500 miles appear best to meet requirements. As a corollary, the provision of sleeping accommodation is not necessary. Its provision is always uneconomical, involving the carriage of less passengers than could be carried sitting up.

The provision of four engines is clearly essential, with the ability to continue to fly or even take off with only 50 per cent. of the total power available ; designers must work to such a yardstick in accordance with international regulations. To ensure maximum utilization of material, the engines must be exchangeable for new ones in the least possible time ; one hour is the longest period which should be necessary to take out an engine and another hour to fit its replacement to the aircraft. Techniques for engine changes much more rapidly than this are already well advanced. It may well be



that it will become the normal practice for engines to be dismantled from the aircraft at the end of each flight for maintenance and fresh ones buttoned into their places.

The airframe itself must, of course, also be built with an eye for ease of maintenance to ensure the greatest utilization on the air routes and, it goes without saying, pressurization, de-icing equipment, temperature control and air-exchange must all be positive and fool-proof. Ease of entry and egress by several doors, both for convenience and in case of emergency, are clear desiderata to which sufficient attention has not yet been given.

These seem to be the main developments to which we should address ourselves at present. In such an aircraft, the public would have little to complain of ; while designers, technicians and operators combine to do all that is possible to provide greater safety, greater speed, greater regularity and, of course, greater economy in operation, to be passed on to the travelling public in the form of lower fares.

Such then, are some of the thoughts that British aviation achievement in 1949 brings to mind. This cursory and untechnical review of the present and exploration into the future has made one thing clear. We are well set upon the road which technical development and public demand indicate as the right one, we have every right to be proud of British progress but we have no cause for complacency ; we have keen and superbly competent competitors and the race is a continuing one. In this most competitive of all industries, there is need of our every ounce of initiative, of ingenuity and of invincible determination.

*(Air Marshal Douglas Colyer, C.B., D.F.C., writes from Paris where he is the Civil Air Attaché of the British Embassy.)*

account of a searching criticism of the logical consequences of its economic theories such as Mr. Thomas offers ; but no honest critic of the Labour Party can doubt that, for it, the preservation of political democracy has the primacy even over its economic Socialism.

In fact, what the Labour Party is committed to is to discover—by trial and error—how much economic socialism is compatible with the functioning of a democratic society. That, when it is established by actual experience, can fairly be called “ democratic socialism ”. Nothing else has a shadow of right to the title. In so far as the Labour Party is pursuing this aim—and there is no reason to doubt it—it is justified in calling itself socialist *and* democratic, and to object to Mr. Thomas’s criticism that Socialism is incompatible with democracy : that it applies only to an abstract Socialism with which the Labour Party is not concerned.

From this point of view, the present economical and political crisis is the first phase of an effort, which will probably go on for many years to find a working compromise or synthesis between Socialism and democracy. The conflict is not between Socialism and political democracy. With an exemplary loyalty to the principles of constitutional government, the country as a whole has accepted the socialist government as the King’s government ; and the socialists, in turn, have put away all thought of maintaining themselves in power by the extra-constitutional means at which some of their theorists used to hint. The conflict is between the exigencies of Socialism and democratic rights which are not strictly political—chiefly, the right of the trade unions to negotiate freely their own terms of work, and to withdraw their labour in support of their claims, and, secondly, the right of the individual worker freely to choose his own job. The latter problem has, at the moment, fallen rather into the background, because the former has become more urgent : but they are only two aspects of a single problem.

Unfortunately, the political picture is complicated by the fact that it is not clear that the demand on the trade unions to accept a standstill on wages, which they are finding it so difficult to accept, comes from the Government because they are a socialist government. Any other government, in the present crisis, would have to make the same demand. The only line of argument which can put the blame on the socialist government as such is one which makes them solely responsible for the policy of full employment and the costly social reforms of the last few years. That is disingenuous. For the policy of full employment and the social reforms were both accepted by the coalition government. All that the opponent of the socialist government can honestly say is that they have gone too fast and too far ; and that, when it became evident that the economic situation was



more serious than anyone had anticipated, the Government refused to slow down. But that is not enough to put the whole blame for the conflict between national necessity and trade union rights on the socialist government. Hence the obvious embarrassment of the opposition. They cannot disown the fundamental policies which the Government have operated. As Sir William Harcourt said a half-century ago : " We are all Socialists now."

It seems therefore to be true that the conflict between the trade unions and the socialist government is not a conflict between them and Socialism, as such, but between them and any possible government of the country to-day. It is a particular form taken by the conflict between the almost universal demand for, or willingness to accept, a maximum of social justice and the brute necessities of national existence. The standard of living of the nation as a whole must be reduced, because we are consuming more than we produce. The trade unions, in effect, demand that they should be exempted from this reduction. And that is impossible. To exempt the trade unionists of the country from a reduction in the standard of living imposed on the community as a whole would only mean that the rest of the community would have an absolutely crushing burden imposed upon it, by means of a runaway inflation.

The trade unions now step into the rôle which the capitalist was reputed to perform by the socialist theory. In order that their profit margin shall not be reduced, the wages of the rest of the community must be forced down, and social justice can go hang. If this were persisted in, the rest of the community would have no alternative but to form itself into a trade union against the new profiteers.

That makes nonsense, not merely of the Socialism of the Labour Party, but of the semi-socialism which is common ground to all political parties to-day. The attitude is retrogressive in regard to the " socialism " of the community as a whole. To the detached observer it is an extraordinary paradox that the trade unions, which have from its beginnings provided the sinews of the political Labour Party, should take up an attitude which is the sheer opposite of its professions and policies. But the most die-hard opponent of Socialism cannot be detached enough to rejoice over the contradiction. It is to the interest of nobody in Britain at the moment to prove that Socialism (of the British variety) will not work : for it is tantamount to proving that Britain and the British system of government will not work. The problem of persuading the trade unions to adopt another attitude is the problem of the country as a whole : and since there would appear to be much more chance of their being persuaded by the political leaders whom they themselves have chosen than by their political opponents, it is to be hoped that their leaders will succeed. This may be a fallacy, and it may be that in fact the

trade unions would take the necessary "No" more easily from their political opponents than from their friends. But at any rate it is certain that unless the attitude of the trade unions is changed any further advance of democratic Socialism in this country is chimerical, and a good deal of the advance that has been made will be lost.

But the paradox of the situation compels us to ask a more fundamental question. Do the workers in the trade unions really desire all the social reforms that have been lavished on them? That there has been, all along, a discrepancy between the political leadership of labour and the trade unions is now manifest. May it not be that so long as it appeared that there was a substantial reserve, which could be tapped by taxation of the upper and middle classes, out of which grandiose social reforms could be financed, the trade unionist was content that his political leaders should demand them on his behalf; but that now that it is apparent that he himself will have to help to pay for them, he begins to be restive? Admittedly, social reforms of such magnitude involve a vast transfer of wealth to the "working class" from the other classes. Admittedly, too, a large-scale transfer of wealth is demanded by social justice, and the working class have now the political power to insist upon it. But is a grandiose programme of social reforms the form in which the workers really want the wealth transferred to themselves? Would they not like it better if tobacco and beer were half the price they are, and they were free to press up wages as far as they could get them? Perhaps they have been led into the welfare State as into a Sunday school, and they do not want to be the good boys they are required to be.

I do not know: but as an employer of labour in a small way I have been impressed by the indifference of workers to some of the most costly social reforms, both in themselves and because of the manner of administration. There is an elemental antipathy between the workers and the officials. The benefits of the welfare State, when they finally reach the worker, have lost most of their abstract glamour. And most of the workers I know would gladly swop the lot for two packets of cigarettes and two pints for the price of one, and a slightly higher wage that they could spend themselves.

The question is important. It is at least conceivable that democratic socialism, even in the form in which it is accepted by both political parties, is out of touch with the real sentiments of the working class; and that this may be the explanation of the paradoxical position of the trade unions to-day. What looks like stupidity or even an attempt to sabotage their own political leadership, may be a declaration that they do not think the welfare State worth paying for in hard cash, or extra work. In other words, State benefits may not be a valid social incentive with them.

It is easy to say that the remedy is education. But that merely



means that the workers ought to understand that the advanced welfare State is worth paying for. It is possible to be educated and still to reply "No". Social justice may take a variety of forms : the advanced welfare State is only one of them. It is at least possible that it is not the most congenial to the working class.

If that should prove to be true, then some very radical adjustments will have to be made in the political thinking not only of the Labour Party, but of its political opponents, who are obviously paralysed by what they feel is the electoral danger of offering to cut the social services. But an astute Conservatism which offered the trade unions a free hand to press wage demands as far as they could in return for the dismantlement of some of the more onerous social services might be a difficult opponent for the Labour Party to meet.

On the other hand, if the political leaders of Labour have correctly interpreted the sentiments of the working-class, and it really does want the welfare State and full employment ; and yet they are unable to persuade it that it must bear its part of the cost by doing the same work for less money, it is not merely Labour Socialism but British democracy itself that has come to a dead end, which will be surmounted only under the spur of an experience most unpleasant to us all. In terms of politics the emergency will be such that it can be met only by forming a coalition government. When neither side will take the risk of telling the truth and proposing to act on it, for fear of unpopularity, the only thing to be done to save democracy is to combine for the purpose.

*(The author's complementary article "Socialism and the Labour Party" was published in the December 1949 issue of THE FORTNIGHTLY.)*

## INDIA AT THE CROSS ROADS

### I. THE DECLINE OF CONGRESS

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

MR. DEAN ACHESON'S letter to the President on the Chinese collapse contained entire passages, which, lifted out of their Chinese context, could be applied to India.\* Among the many economic and political similarities none is more relevant than the rôle of China's Kuomintang and the Indian Congress Party.

Unlike in some modern totalitarian countries, where the identification of State and Party is the result of purposeful manoeuvring, both the Kuomintang and Congress found themselves identified with the State as a heritage of their past. The Chinese story proved the perils of such identification. Whether Congress, and India with it, are bound to travel along the same road will much depend on the suppression or emergence of an opposition capable of offering an alternative government to the country.

In the India of to-day the identification of Congress with the State is probably the basic obstacle to the generation of the necessary enthusiasm for building a new State under adverse circumstances. Prime Minister Pandit Nehru seems to be conscious of this : " . . . the State of India functioned as something apart from the public . . . It may be a legacy of British rule but it is clear that the State does not easily become a part of mass activity, which it should be."† This barely conceals frustration. Paraphrased, it is the admission that an instrument successful in canalizing nationalism against alien rule is not necessarily suitable for nation-building. As the influential *Eastern Economist* summed up : " The great end disappeared with the coming of freedom . . . In the two years which have elapsed since Independence Day, the Congress organization has not found any precious ideal to replace the pillar which in 1947 had fallen to the ground".‡ The journal is the mouthpiece of the industrialist Mr. Birla, reputedly the " grey eminence " of Indian politics. Why the solution of India's monumental social and economic problems does

\* As cautious an organ as *The Statesman* of Calcutta remarked editorially on August 10, 1949 : " Asian countries previously backward are facing new conditions, many not dissimilar to China's. . . . Some may be tempted to apply the lessons of the Kuomintang's failure even nearer home . . . "

† In his speech of October 3, 1949, in New Delhi.

‡ New Delhi, July 15, 1949.



not offer an ideal for a popular mass-movement commanding as much loyalty as the fight for independence did in the past, the journal does not attempt to explain.

Under Gandhi's leadership Congress grew into a mass-organization based on the popular common denominator of nationalism. With an illiterate and apathetic peasantry (most of the population), the more articulate members came from the ranks of the small middle-class (grouped in the few big cities) and the thin layer of surplus producing peasantry. These two groups being poor, Congress organization always and admittedly depended on the donations of a few large industrialists and wealthy merchants. Once independence was granted and the inevitable initial frustration had set in, the middle-classes—financially ruined by inflation—lost enthusiasm and the surplus-producing peasantry, uninspired any longer by nationalism, sank back into the customary isolationism which is incompatible with national sacrifice. Thus, shorn of its mass-support, Congress emerged after Independence dominated by property and tightly controlled by a rigid party machinery detached from the masses. What hold Congress maintains over the Indian people is intimately associated with a few leading personalities whose coloured prints in the bazaar still command a certain naïve, oriental loyalty but are dangerously devoid of any social or political content.

Two years after Independence this process has eaten away the popular parts of Congress organization and to the men in the street has changed its crusading stature for an impersonal political instrument of big-business and dictatorial rule. A no less conservative organ than the *Times of India*\* summed up the prevailing mood thus : "In one word the Congress has lost touch with the people, their emotions and their problems, thanks to two years of office at the Centre and of a larger number of years in the Provinces. Opportunities for profiting from public positions have come the way of most Congressmen, and it will not be ungenerous to state that a larger number of these former servants of the people have benefited from them . . ." (either Congress returns to its old ideal of service, or) . . . "reconciles itself to the passing of an organization which to-day has come to be identified with government, corruption, nepotism and authoritarian rule." The scramble for positions, corruption in high and low places and nepotism on the part of Congressmen are the talk of the bus-stop and the cocktail-party all over India. Public scandals involving prominent Congressmen, accusations and proofs of bribery, are poisoning the political air and have gravely damaged the prestige of Congress organization in West Bengal, Madras, Bihar and, to a lesser extent, in a number of other

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\* July 14, 1949, by "Candidus."

provinces. The inefficiency and corruption of rationing, shameless and largely unpunished hoarding and the reaping of huge illicit profits rapidly deepen the frustration of the population. Even the legendary figures of the heroic, fighting days find their halos paling. "The speeches of even the two biggest figures in the Congress are not now being taken at their face value ; people are asking everywhere for proof"—wrote the *Eastern Economist*\* referring to Pandit Nehru and his deputy Sardar Patel, and lamenting the weakening of this last link of oriental hero worship that Congress had with the impatient Indian masses.

These are but a few voices in the rising anti-Congress chorus. From organs less devoted to Congress more outspoken objections might be quoted. In all fairness, however, one ought to recognize that these are merely expressions of impatience by a vocal and argumentative people untutored in the traditions of civic co-operation and largely devoid of social consciousness. The malaise of India lies deeper.

In largely illiterate and backward countries political loyalties revolve round personalities rather than any fundamental principles or political philosophy. The influence of Gandhi, two years after his death, and of the men associated with him, on the thinking of Indians could not be over-estimated. Gandhi and the Indian people united in greatness for a brief period when their mutual instincts corresponded to the political needs of the hour. One represented the other. Gandhi the vague aspirations of the Indian people and the Indians the way of thinking of the Mahatma. To quote an intelligent Indian observer : "Indians have a split personality, a psychological complex, born out of centuries of political subjugation by an alien power . . ." (there is an) " . . . emotional crisis which overtakes every cultured Indian in this struggle with an environment which is a strange mix up of the primitive and the modern, the superstitious and the philosophical, the parochial and the cosmopolitan . . ." And there was the same split in the teachings of Gandhi. What was and still is, living is his great advocacy of non-violence and his classic leadership against foreign oppression. The dead and regressive side of his personality and teaching was the obscure revivalism with its spinning wheel, village industries, nature-cure and the rest of the synthetic mythos of Hindu culture. Pre-Gandhian leadership of Congress was essentially secular. His leadership, beside investing the movement with moral grandeur, also threw the veil of religious mysticism around the ordinary, hard economic and political facts of 400 million people. The majority of Indians who were genuinely anxious to contribute to the liberation of their country had to

\* July 15, 1949.

† S. Ramanathan : *Gandhi and the Youth*, published February 1947.



accept "the other half", the mystical and contradictory part, of their leader's teachings simply because they had no other comparable platform to express their nationalism than the Gandhian Congress. This unfortunate phenomenon—no less than a split national personality—manifests itself in every aspect of Indian national life. It led to a dualism which borders on duplicity. Under the spell of Gandhi this dual personality became a way of living and not even the effervescence of grandiloquent declarations stating the opposite can camouflage the teeming contradictions hindering India's progress as an independent nation.

Lip-service to non-violence is hardly compatible with two wars within two years, with mass-participation in massacres or with the absence of effective measures to minimize the outdated horror of the caste-system.\* Reference to Hindu traditions to prove Indian indifference to material comfort is not convincing when the few Indians who could achieve wealth (more often than not Congressmen) indulge in an indecently ostentatious exhibitionism of their lavish comforts while the majority of their countrymen endure a degree of hunger, disease and filth revolting to the Western mind. Or, Gandhian teachings are unmistakably anti-technological—yet, part and parcel of the same philosophy is non-interference in the indiscriminate breeding of human beings to an extent that makes rapid industrialization imperative.† These are only a few of the salient contradictions. Intensified by Gandhian teachings they have conditioned the way of thinking of most Congressmen and exercise their paralysing influence on the daily actions of India's Government. The problems entailed in governing India after centuries of foreign rule are staggering enough to tax the ability of any government. A society that refuses change in a dramatically changing world is doomed to go down amidst the fireworks of pious slogans and phrases invoking ideals which are known to be unattainable. Surrounded by dynamic change over the borders, inertia is not curable by bureaucracy.

The chief influences on Asia in the twentieth century are nationalism, the desire to raise living standards, to secure equal opportunities and, finally, the impact of western political ideas. Of these the first is distinctly anti-Western and, with the exception of the last, all of them may be imagined among the attractions of the Asian brand of

\* The legal abolition of untouchability remains largely on paper. Apart from the few big cities nothing effective is done to minimize the unspeakable degradation resulting from this system. The extreme nationalistic right-wing R.S.S. openly stands for the "revival of ancient Hindu culture" including presumably the maintenance of the caste system. R.S.S. members were recently granted the right to seek admission into Congress.

† Every ten years India's population increases by as much as the total population of Great Britain yet semi-starvation over large tracts of the country exists almost permanently. The religious sentiment encouraging large families without regard to the father's financial position, is not countered by any teaching or propaganda and the few individuals trying to introduce birth control methods find little if any governmental encouragement.

Communism. The last therefore is of special importance from the Western point of view. On its relative valuation may depend the choice between the implementation of Western liberalism with drastic economic reform, or the acceptance of the communist one-way street for the sake of ruthless speed and efficiency in economic transformation. It must be realized, however, that preference for Western ideas in politically thinking India is tied to a handful of personalities, only a few of whom have nation-wide appeal, and nearly all of whom are of advanced age. Most of these who, by their upbringing, are wedded to Western liberal methods and ideas are, unfortunately, associated with the leadership of the Congress Party. Should people finally turn away from Congress in frustration, they will also lose their only remaining link with Western political influence. The only alternative seems to be if the very few Western-educated potential opposition leaders receive the necessary encouragement to try their hand at government and to carry out quick and radical reforms. Otherwise, as in the case of Kuomintang or a number of other Asian countries, an outgoing and degenerating political party will remain in the eyes of the masses identified with Western methods and ideals. It is the dividend Western imperialism is paying to Asian Communism.

The present, however, should not blacken the credit side of the two-years' balance-sheet of Congress rule. The halt of communal violence which ravaged the country in 1947 ; the mere continuation of administration after the shock and turmoil of partition ; and the gradual integration of the Princely States into the Indian Union are the chief achievements. Unfortunately the debit side is much longer. Most observers are rightly surprised that while endless debates and mountains of energy are spent on seemingly irrelevant issues, little or no advance is visible in the laying of foundations for a better health service, the training of doctors, the welfare of children or the improvement of the social condition of the population. Few people are convinced that the Indian Government has done a fraction of what was rightly expected to eliminate mass-illiteracy, the greatest obstacle to any progress. Dilettantism characterizes the half-hearted measures to cleanse the administrative system or to train experts for administrative or technical key positions. Above all, students of Asian trends must be shocked to see the absence of any serious attempt to solve the all important land question ; to carry out land reforms worthy of the name or to rid the world's most exploited agricultural worker from the double curse of the money lender and the *zamindar*.

In the basic problems of food, housing, health and education there is bungling and inefficiency. "There is too much planning and too little development. While official blueprints pile thick as the fabled



leaves of Vallombrosa there is little, if any, evidence of active and co-ordinated effort.”\* No doubt, time is against Congress. The sands of initial enthusiasm have run out and the opportunity to turn the spirit of sacrifice into nation building energy has been wasted. There is dangerous talk that “it was better under the British.” Frustration is deepening and a groping search for alternatives is in progress. In a number of by-elections the formerly automatic victory of Congress was reversed. In an increasing number of cases the combination of opposition votes, though disunited for the time being, often add up to majorities. India’s new Constitution† promises general, adult franchise to some 188 million, mostly illiterate, people whose understanding of national issues must be rather limited. That the totalitarian tendency in Congress should be becoming stronger as its chances in future elections become weaker is not a surprising development. It might even be welcome should it come hand in hand with an energetic change within Congress itself, heralding higher efficiency, less corruption and more government in the interest of the majority.

Instead, under the Public Safety Act, British-inherited and now invoked against Congress opponents, more political prisoners are believed to be filling India’s jails than at any time under British rule.‡ The number of public scandals of corruption, bribery and nepotism are multiplying and the centripetal tendencies in the provinces cast forward the shadow of movements which, in the long run, may threaten the unity of Congress-ruled India.

After the mid-June by-elections in Calcutta where, notwithstanding confident Congress expectations, the violent critic of Congress, Sarat Chandra Bose, had won hands down against his Nehru-backed Congress Opponent, Congress leaders were openly worried. It was regarded by commentators as “a straw in the changing wind.” Pandit Nehru, with his customary candour, declared in one of his “thinking aloud” speeches : “If we cannot revitalize Congress we must dissolve it in a dignified manner rather than allow it to disintegrate by stages.” Not so Mr. Birla’s *Eastern Economist*. Reviewing the Calcutta shock and ruling out all political alternatives as impracticable, it declared : “The Congress must find a positive creed and, if it should fail to find it quickly, nothing, not even the tremendous prestige of Mahatmaji . . . can save it from decline.” And added : “. . . whether we like it or not, there is no welcome

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\* *The Times of India*, October 25, 1949.

† Adopted in the Constituent Assembly, November 26, 1949.

‡ India is not the land of statistics, and estimates of the number of political prisoners range from 50,000 to 200,000. Besides communists, occasionally socialists and trade union leaders are jailed and held without trial for long periods.

alternative to Congress rule.”\*

Since these soul-searchings half a year has passed and events seem to prove that the point of view of Mr. Birla's mouthpiece and not that of Pandit Nehru is winning. It is precisely this understandable conviction in one's inalienable right to rule that makes lack of real reforms coupled with growing oppressive tendencies in Congress so dangerous for India. C. R. Das and after him Subhas Chandra Bose have tried to avoid disloyalty to Congress by attempting to change it from inside. Pandit Nehru, though his sincerity and motives are beyond doubt, demonstrates with every speech he is making that he is doomed to repeat the failure of his predecessors. His sensitive idealism is too fragile a weapon to persuade men like Sardar Patel or Mr. Birla, or to grapple with the paralysing contradictions in his entourage of non-violent philosophers and opportunist traders and industrialists.

India has been low on the ladder of history for about a century. Two years are certainly not enough to rectify this tragic situation. But two years are certainly sufficient to prove whether there is regression or the groundwork for progress. This is where Congress rule stands condemned in the eyes of the Indian masses, impatient to obtain their overdue share of human progress, and in the eyes of the progressive world anxious about the future of one fifth of humanity.

*(The second and third articles by the same correspondent : “ Is an opposition arising in India ? ” and “ Will India take the China Road ? ” will be published in the February and March issues of THE FORTNIGHTLY.)*

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\* July 15, 1949.



## SUGAR

BY GEOFFREY NUNN

THE talks in London between representatives of Commonwealth sugar producers and Departments in Whitehall were a continuation of those which took place in August between the Ministry of Food, the Colonial Office and deputations representing West Indian producers, the Government of Jamaica and the Trade Union movement of British Guiana. There is a connection, not likely to be readily appreciated by the public in this country, between these talks and the recent reduction of our domestic sugar ration. In August the West Indian delegations asked for a guarantee that the United Kingdom would buy agreed maximum tonnages of their sugar crops in each of the next ten years. They asked also that the prices to be paid to them should be freed from the leading-strings of the Cuba-controlled "free" world price, of which more later, and fixed periodically by a committee on which they and the British Government would be represented. The discussions ended without achieving any firm conclusion for, while the Government let it be known that they were prepared to give Commonwealth producers a guaranteed market at reasonable prices, they would not be committed to a ten-year contract without first consulting other Commonwealth producers (notably Australia, South Africa, Fiji and Mauritius) and importers (notably Canada). We are concerned here mainly with the case for guarantee and price safeguards as seen by commercial, agricultural, political and public opinion in the Caribbean colonies. They do not, however, claim for themselves anything which they do not consider should be conceded to other Commonwealth producers.

The reduction of the sugar ration was unavoidable, since to fill our needs even on the present ration we have to buy some dollar sugar. If, however, successive British governments had taken a different course with colonial sugar producers (and particularly with those of the Caribbean area) over the last twenty years—to go no further back—they could by now have been shipping enough sugar to this country every year to make us independent of dollar sugar. The British Government has, of course, to ensure for the British housewife a regular supply of enough cheap sugar to meet her needs—including sweets and other products of the confectionery and catering trades. They have, nevertheless, a duty also to the sugar producing colonies, to which have been given pledges of economic, social and constitu-

tional advancement which must be honoured—and honoured quickly.

In the period between the two wars the price of sugar was controlled by the amount which Cuban producers were prepared to accept for that portion of their crop which was not bought by the United States of America. Cuba enjoyed a unique position in the American market, in which the prices she received were so favourable that she could afford to sell the remainder of her crop each year to other buyers at a price which was entirely uneconomic from the point of view of other sugar producing countries. This state of affairs, though advantageous for the British consumer, was disastrous for the sugar colonies, of which the chief are the British West Indies and the Caribbean area in general, whose sugar industry is their mainstay. (Sugar exports amount to 53 per cent. of the total exports of Jamaica, 62 per cent. of British Guiana, 89 per cent. of the Leeward Islands and no less than 91 per cent. of Barbados.) The advantage to the British consumer was, as things have now turned out, ephemeral. As soon as a "dollar gap" appeared the system crumbled and special measures had to be taken, involving an unnecessary drain on our limited dollar supplies, to provide this country with enough sugar to meet even the present austere ration. The disaster to the sugar colonies led directly to the West Indian riots of 1938.

Under the depressing influence of the Cuban position, in the ten years before the second war the price of sugar fell continually and ultimately was so low that the sugar industry of the Caribbean, in spite of help from imperial preference, was brought to the verge of bankruptcy and the whole area was thrown into social and economic chaos. In order to survive, the industry was forced to live at the expense of its own future and at that of its labour force. Wages were depressed to a level which amounted to a scandal. Adequate depreciation could not be provided, with the result that essential improvements in field and factory had to be deferred.

During the second war sugar prices rose, but to an extent which, after covering the increased cost of bags, fertilizers, wages and so on yielded only a modest profit, from which it was still quite impossible to make up for the long depression of the inter-war years; Government control, in the seriousness of the times, ensured this effect.

Since 1945 the system of controlled prices has been maintained, but costs have continued to rise. Stimulated by the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, wages and welfare costs are now higher than ever, although wages are still low by any desirable standard. The cost of materials and supplies likewise continues to increase from year to year, mainly because of the lack of balance between the trade of the sterling and dollar areas. The industry is now frequently required by the British Government to obtain its supplies, and the consumer goods which its labour requires as an incentive to greater



efforts, from the United Kingdom or from other "soft" sources which are seldom the cheapest and not always the most appropriate places from which to obtain them. The result is that the prices which have been negotiated annually since the war have still left an insufficient margin for improvements in agricultural practice, for the replacement of obsolescent plant and machinery, or for expansion.

The West Indian riots of 1938 led to the appointment of the West India Royal Commission under the late Lord Moyne. They also turned the eyes of all politically conscious elements in other colonies to the West Indies, to say nothing of those of the traditional critics of British colonial policy in other parts of the world. Put thus on their mettle, the British Government produced the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945 and, by so doing, were committed to the only social and economic policy which can make sense of their constitutional policy: the raising of the earning power of the colonial peoples, with a view to creating sound economic foundations for self-government.

The effect of all this was to commit sugar producers to higher wages and increased expenditure on the welfare of labour. It has also made it more than ever incumbent on them to reorganize so as to be able to play their essential part in restoring the economic position of the Caribbean, if the British Government's own policy both in the economic and constitutional field is not to be frustrated.

Since 1945 the British Government have taken the lead in fostering a federation of the Caribbean colonies. Local opinion sees this as the first step towards dominion status and it is mainly for that reason that the idea of federation—which only ten years ago aroused no enthusiasm anywhere but in Whitehall—now receives the support of people in power all over the region. The efficiency and—what is more important—the sincerity of British colonial administration is on trial. Sugar is not *in vacuo*; any discussion of it becomes at once a discussion of the whole sweep of British colonial policy.

In terms of practical action, the policies, represented by the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, by the new constitutions of Jamaica and Trinidad and by federation, mean a new and a fair deal for Caribbean agriculture. There are two sets of difficulties: those which require action in the colonies themselves (anti-soil-erosion works, irrigation schemes and the like) and those which require the initiative to be taken outside the area. This initiative can only be provided by the British Government and must be directed towards stabilizing the prices to be paid to the producer so that he can plan ahead to improve his product and expand production. It involves also determined action by the British Government—if necessary internationally and certainly within the Commonwealth—to prevent fluctuations in the demand for and the prices offered for prim-

ary agricultural products, on which the stability of the level of employment in every colony—and nowhere more so than in the Caribbean—ultimately depends.

Thus, in seeking a ten-year guarantee and in asking that prices shall be safeguarded, the Caribbean colonies are thinking in terms of stability not only for the sugar industry, but for the whole region. At the same time they are arguing a case which is fundamental to all colonies whose economy is based on agriculture.

If their case rested there, it would be unassailable. But there are other considerations which strengthen it. The first of these is that nothing that is now being suggested by the West Indians runs counter to the principles of the International Trade Charter—an important point in these days of dollar deficits, the Truman doctrine and self-help by the non-dollar countries. Moreover, the principal traditional importers of West Indian sugar are Great Britain and Canada. So far as the United Kingdom is concerned the case for the guarantee and the price safeguards rests on the proposition that, given this encouragement, the West Indies alone could produce for export over 1,000,000 tons of the 1,900,000 tons which, assuming freedom from rationing, this country will require each year within the next ten years. By so doing the sugar producers of the Caribbean would be making a substantial contribution to the solution of the United Kingdom's own economic problems.

As for Canada, the producers' case for a steady share of that market is based on her predilection for a steady share of the export trade of the British Caribbean. Canada is not particularly anxious to buy Cuban sugar, for Cuba is not an important buyer of Canadian goods. Moreover, it may be assumed that Canada will not wish to risk the loss of a valuable export market merely in order to obtain sugar at a price which is uneconomic from the point of view of the producer in an area in which the greatest possible amount of goodwill was built up, largely by Canada's own efforts, during the late war.

In September 1948 Sir Stafford Cripps told Parliament that Government purchasing departments in this country would be prepared to guarantee long-term contracts for periods up to ten years for the purchase of colonial agricultural products and the raw materials of British industry. That fact alone should lead to the hope that the one point outstanding between the British Government and the West Indies—the period of the guarantee—will now be conceded. It is not as though the British taxpayer was being asked to dip into his pocket merely to subsidize an inefficient industry. It is economic conditions over which it has no control that handicap the colonial sugar industry. It is in fact in many respects the most efficient and best organized of all colonial agricultural enterprises.



## COOKS AND BROTH IN MALAYA

BY DOROTHY CRISP

THE waterfront of Singapore is exactly like a film set. There is nothing behind it of what it represents. An irregular line of large Western buildings, offices, banks, town hall, cathedral and hotel, stand, almost treeless, in the swooning, wet heat. Behind them, abruptly and startlingly, presses the swarm of Chinese houses which is the vast bulk of the town of Singapore. Victoria Road reeks of joss sticks, curry, fried rice and Asiatic humanity. Lloyd Road is the home of Filipinos, Indians and Chinese. Orchard Road, which arrives eventually at Government House, is a name that hangs quaintly indeed over the Asiatic shops which line it.

And the Malays are in evidence in Singapore only as the police force, and because their language is the lingua franca of the place. One must cross the Causeway, which joins Singapore Island to the mainland, and traverse the long peninsular of Malaya if one would really learn something of the Malay, who lives in the close community of his vital Mohammedanism, closely pressed by immigrant Chinese neighbours.

Across this jumble the influence of the Japanese has recently trailed. These are its practical effects : people say to one : " Oh, you can't go to Malacca by train. You could have done before the war, but the Japanese took the railway," or, as a man said to me in Kuala Lumpur : " I'm so sorry you have had to walk up four flights of stairs in this heat. Most good of you. We had a lift, of course, but the Japanese took it and we haven't got the new one yet."

Mentally, the effects are puzzling in their contrariness. Unquestionably the Japanese made themselves completely detested, and the many post-war converts to Christianity are certainly initially accounted for by a train of thought beginning : " If life under the English is so different from life under the Japanese, there must be something in the religion the Englishman professes." It is a practical illustration of the dictum : " Religion is caught, not taught," and it is bitterly ironic that this should happen at a time when England is so largely forsaking the doctrines which have taught her so much. It was not until I attended one of the early services at Singapore Cathedral on Easter Day this year that I saw enacted something like the scrum to get into a football match to gain entry to a church.

there are great tracts of jungle which have never been cleared and bands of secondary jungle, that is, jungle encroaching on land which has been cleared.

Before the war Government marked out land for Malay reservations and in various ways attempted to prepare order for the future but while the Malays with their close and all-important family system, their regular religious practice, and their belief in The One God have a sense of order as well as an easy-going, tractable nature, the Chinese have been accustomed to civil wars and disorders in their own land for close on four thousand years, their religious beliefs and practices frequently defy imagination, and in China they have been accustomed to pay a form of taxation to whatever war lord was on top at the moment. This money they are accustomed to call "protection money", and the Chinese in Malaya have certainly been paying protection money to the bandits.

Another part of the Chinese problem is that of "the squatters", Chinese who have helped themselves to unoccupied land, who have built their shacks, and who simply do not understand why they cannot remain. The Government's solution to this problem is twofold; deportation of those Chinese whose connection with the bandits is proven and the slow movement of the squatters in ordered groups to ordered regions. Here again there has been by no means full co-operation from the various Malay States of the federation, each of which, naturally, wants the squatters directed to the other States.

As many squatters have co-operated with the "brigands" to the extent of shielding and supplying them, many of the squatters encampments have been destroyed and burnt by the army in its recent campaigns, and those in immediate touch with local events have had to steel their hearts, and think constantly of the larger issue, when confronted with the tragic faces of the homeless Chinese.

Their performances are incredible to Western mentality. One planter, whom I was visiting, told me that not far from his plantation was a large one owned by an English company which had not yet thought it worth while to restart and recondition its estate. My planter friend had recently observed a Chinese family living in the manager's house and some Chinese crudely at work among the rubber trees. He therefore informed the company's agent, who expressed complete disbelief but journeyed to the estate some ten days later.

The agent then found that the Chinese had simply taken possession of the plantation, in the sublime belief that he would not be disturbed, spent two thousand Straits dollars on repairing the machinery, and settled down to make his fortune.

This is the active and "get-rich-quick" mentality of the immigrant Chinese, but the Malay carries the mind straight back to the medieval



world. In many ways the parallel is close. The Malay, for instance, reads the Koran—and there are many public readings—in Arabic which he does not properly understand, very much as the Englishman of the Middle Ages said his prayers in Latin. But though Mohammed strictly forbade alcohol, Malays drink smilingly and assure one that Allah means men to be happy.

They earn five dollars, buy themselves an imitation gold ring, and then sit back. In Singapore they squat or recline on the pavement, gambling with anything from a rare pack of cards to frequent odd bits of concrete where the road is up for repairs. In the mainland they work in the padi-fields, or do nothing, with the utmost good nature. Here and there matriachy lingers to this day. In Malacca and Negri Sembilan property descends through the women.

The Malay is truly a product of his climate, with its equatorial heat and its extraordinary humidity. When I chanced to say to a Malay that my house in England was built four hundred years ago, his eyes nearly popped out of his head. "But a house only lasts twenty years," he protested. So it does in a land whose wooden huts (lacking both sanitation and water supply) rot in the damp, and whose people are too casual to keep them under repair, hard job as that would be. A woollen dress I hung in a cupboard in Singapore, and did not disturb for a month, was at the end of that time covered from neck to hem with long fronds of green fungus.

Unhappily most of the English in Malaya know more about clothes in cupboards than they know about Malays in their own houses. I believe I am right in saying that I am the only Englishwoman who has ever spent a night in a Malay hut in a kampong; certainly I am the only one who has done so with no other white person within miles. Yet such effort (and there is inevitably effort in it) is richly rewarding to oneself, which matters very little in the general scheme of things. It is also the one and only way to combat the chaos which, under the name of Communism, is so rapidly pervading the Asia of to-day, which matters very much indeed.

The welcome which the English man or woman is given in all parts of Asia to-day if he or she will go freely among its peoples, has to be seen to be believed, and those English who do so go, perform a stabilizing work, a work of integration, on which a happier century may build a new greatness.

## LATIN-AMERICAN UNREST

By R. G. WALKER

**D**URING the past sixteen months various Latin-American governments have been overthrown by military risings, and an epidemic of revolutions has spread over Central and South America. The fundamental cause of unrest, the growing struggle between old-established minority interests and the new forces of social and administrative reform, have been aggravated by post-war difficulties which, in the case of the Caribbean countries, El Salvador excepted, have revived international jealousies and trade rivalry.

In El Salvador, the smallest and one of the two most densely peopled of the Central American republics, social conditions are less conducive to unrest than elsewhere in the Caribbean. The purely native race represents only ten per cent. of a population which is culturally well advanced. Health, sanitary and educational services have been developed during the last twenty years, communications have been improved, and the country has generally been wisely administered. Nevertheless, in December 1948, junior army officers revolted and deposed General Castaneda Castro, whose four-year term of office was due to expire in the following March. He was ineligible for re-election, and had, they alleged, convened a national assembly to alter the Constitution, and thus enable him to extend his mandate—a familiar expedient with dictators wishful to preserve a semblance of constitutional government. Another explanation, equally plausible, is that the rebellion aimed at forestalling a movement by the general staff to implant a government of extreme right elements. The new leaders dissolved Congress and formed a military-civilian pentarchy which, so far, has ruled the country without disturbance. Each of the five members is to act in turn as President.

With this exception all recent risings in the Caribbean area have had ramifications in neighbouring republics. In Guatemala, Salvador's north-western neighbour, the military rebellions of December, April and July were led by political refugees, exiled in San Domingo, and assisted, morally and materially, by the Dominican dictator, Rafael Trujillo. Dr. Juan José Areválo assumed the presidency of Guatemala in March 1945, after the resignation of dictator Jorge Ubico and the overthrow of his immediate successor, General Fredico Ponce. Dr. Areválo's leftist leanings are viewed



with disfavour by Rafael Trujillo and by General Anastacio Somoza, Nicaragua's strong man. Twenty attempts to displace him have been made by Jorge Ubico's followers in four years.

General Somoza, ex-President of Nicaragua and later Minister of War, Marine and Air, intervened openly in Costa Rica in May 1948, when he sent troops across the border to bolster up Teodoro Picado's tottering Government. The troops were withdrawn under pressure from the United States, and Teodoro Picado was deposed. In December his followers, who had found asylum in Nicaragua, invaded Costa Rica in an attempt to overthrow José Figueres, head of the military-civilian Junta. Costa Rica appealed to the Organization of American States, the O.E.A., invoking the Inter-American Defence Pact of Rio de Janeiro, and a commission of inquiry was appointed. As a result of its investigations the Nicaraguan Government was respectfully informed that it should have prevented the December movement across its frontier, while Costa Rica was requested to avoid plots within its borders against Nicaragua and other neighbouring countries.

Costa Rica, the most democratic of the Central American Republics with only 800,000 inhabitants, largely of Spanish descent, has, until recently, been remarkably free of internal strife. In April, however, another attempt was made, this time by a section of the army, to overthrow José Figueres, who was to hand over last month to Otilio Ulate, the President-elect.

Between these countries trade rivalry is intense. The small Caribbean nations live by agriculture in over-close proximity, and compete with the same products in the same international market. In each coffee is the principal source of revenue representing between 60 and 80 per cent. of the total exports, while over 70 per cent. of the trade in both directions is with the United States. Exports dropped after 1945 and the wartime demand for certain commodities practically ceased, creating economic difficulties which provoked unrest and revived international jealousies. Internal strife within this restricted area is prolonged by the ease with which defeated antagonists can escape across the frontier and continue their intrigues in a sympathetic atmosphere. Political refugees from San Domingo, Panama and Nicaragua plot against their Governments in Costa Rica and Guatemala, while Costa Ricans and Guatemalans conspire in Nicaragua and elsewhere. The International Brigade, the Caribbean Legion, which helped to raise José Figueres to power in Costa Rica, is now directing its energies against Rafael Trujillo in San Domingo, and General Somoza, the man behind the administration in Nicaragua.

The Caribbean, subject to eruptions and earthquakes, is figuratively a volcanic area too, in which many craters are maintained inactive by the restraining influence of the Inter-American Defence Pact, the

vigilance of the Organization of American States and fear of United States economic reprisals.

Haiti and San Domingo are other examples of colliding interests between small adjoining territories. These two republics, one of French the other of Spanish origin, both with a large proportion of negroid blood, inherited from slave ancestors, share the Island of Hispaniola, an area of 30,000 square miles. Prior to the American occupation of 1915-1934 in Haiti, and 1916-1924 in San Domingo, they were frequently at loggerheads and always in a state of political chaos. Comparative order has been established but mutual antagonisms persist. Like other countries of the Caribbean they export chiefly coffee, sugar and fruits, the United States being their principal client.

In February 1949 Haiti appealed to the O.E.A., alleging that President Rafael Trujillo, on the other side of the dividing line, was conspiring with Haitian refugees against his Government. Four months later, in June, members of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, refugees in Cuba, Mexico and Guatemala, sent aircraft to overthrow him. The attempt failed and President Trujillo, in his turn, protested to Washington and the O.E.A. He assumed office in 1942, was 're-elected' for five years in 1947, and has frustrated several attempts to oust him. He and General Somoza are looked upon as disturbing elements in the Caribbean. Both are alleged to have acquired immense fortunes from the exploitation of monopolies, and have many enemies within and beyond their own frontiers.

International jealousies have played little part in recent disturbances in South America. Territories are vast and interests seldom clash. The boundary questions which existed between Peru, Colombia and Ecuador have been settled, leaving only minor resentments, and the bitterness arising from the wars of the last century is almost forgotten. Political, social and economic conditions are changing, and creating problems of difficult solution in countries with limited financial resources.

Although the nations of South America became independent early in the nineteenth century no drastic alterations were made in their social and economic structures during the next hundred years. They continued, as in colonial times, to produce raw materials for exportation, and to receive manufactured goods and processed foodstuffs in exchange. Agriculture and stockbreeding remained in the hands of the big landlords. Mines and public services were exploited by foreign capital, the profits being remitted abroad. Many important commercial undertakings were also controlled by foreigners, and industry was practically non-existent. Inevitably the nations remained poor. Lack of communications and primitive methods of cultivation retarded development, and the low purchasing power of



the great majority made the home market unattractive. The growing of foodstuffs was neglected, and interest concentrated on a few products of ready acceptance abroad. Good crops, coincident with a big foreign demand, produced a wave of artificial prosperity, of little benefit to the nation as a whole. Poor harvests or a drop in international prices spelt disaster in agricultural countries, while, in those dependent on mining, activity fluctuated according to the conditions ruling in other producing centres or in buying markets. Financial instability smoothed the way for political agitators.

The 1914-1918 war wrought great changes in the social and economic life of South America. Production and exports increased, and the virtual cessation of imports stimulated industrialization and weakened dependence on abroad. The dawning nationalist spirit and the demand for social and political reforms received sharp impulses. Opposition to old-established minority interests, to government by cliques, and to avowed or disguised dictatorships was strengthened.

The Popular American Revolutionary Alliance of Peru, the APRA, was formed in Paris in 1924 to create an Indian-American State, and wrest the Government from the small ruling class of Spanish descent, which represents only seven per cent. of the inhabitants. The APRA gained wide allegiance among semi-civilized Indians and mixed breeds, who comprise rather more than half the population, and a small following among the intelligentsia and ambitious politicians. Its orbit has widened steadily since the assassination of President Sanchez Cerro in April 1933 and, whatever its original aims were, it has become a disturbing force in Peruvian political and social life, an extreme left-wing totalitarian party, accused of numerous crimes.

Although considered illegal for many years the APRA obtained a majority in Parliament when Dr. José Luis Bustamante y Rivero was elected President in 1945. After the assassination of Francisco Grana Garland, conservative editor of *La Nación*, a profound reaction set in, and the old ruling class was able to regain its almost unbroken supremacy. In October 1948, following the naval revolt at Callao, President Bustamante swung ostensibly to the right and outlawed the APRA. His action failed to allay the distrust of the conservatives, however, and he was deposed a few days later by General Manuel Odria, who formed a military Junta to rule the country until order should be restored.

A few weeks later, in November, a somewhat similar movement took place in Venezuela. The President, Romulo Betancourt, leader of the rebellion which had overthrown General Medina's conservative government in 1945, was in turn deposed, and his administration replaced by a military Junta. Betancourt was charged with attempt-

ing to implant a Marxist régime and his party, the *Acción Democrática*, was outlawed.

One month after the deposal of Romulo Betancourt a fresh series of disturbances broke out in Ecuador and Colombia, where conditions have been unsettled for some time past. In Ecuador trouble has been brewing since August 1947, when Colonel Carlos Mancheno usurped the post of Dictator Velasco Ibarra and was himself thrown out ten days later. Between December and July Mancheno's followers, aided by a small section of the army, made three attempts against the Government of Galo Plaza, who assumed the presidency in June 1948. In December, also, a serious situation developed in Colombia, the aftermath of the April revolution, which began with the assassination of the liberal leader, Jorge Eliezer Gaitan. Hundreds of people were killed in the streets of Bogotá in April, and clashes between liberals and conservatives have continued intermittently ever since. In July 1949 the President, Dr. Mariano Ospina Pérez, endeavoured to conciliate the opposition by appointing prominent liberals as leaders of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. Disturbances continued, however, and culminated in September in a riot and bloodshed in the lower house. The President then announced his intention of increasing the number of military members of his Cabinet, in order to strengthen the Government, and enable it to deal more effectively with the situation as the date of the elections approached. Serious difficulties confronted his administration after the conservatives lost the majority in both houses. Disorder and bloodshed increased in Columbia as the date of the elections drew near. A state of siege was declared on November 9. Congress was dissolved and at the elections on November 27, which the liberals boycotted, the sole candidate, the conservative Laureano Gomez, was inevitably elected. As he is reputed to be an ardent admirer of General Franco, the Spanish dictator, his election seems to promise little hope of peace. But if he continues to enjoy the support of the army leaders he is not likely to be overthrown by a revolutionary movement.

The army, in fact, is the decisive factor in all South American rebellions, and without its support none can succeed. Popular revolutions are unknown. The mestizos of the desolate Chilean pampa, the pure-blooded Indians of the Peruvian sierras, who make up 46 per cent. of the population, and their brethren in the bleak Bolivian highlands are too isolated and apathetic to revolt. Industrial workers in urban and mining centres may be roused and armed by agitators and ambitious politicians, but their intervention merely establishes confusion and does little to ensure the success of any movement.

Two factors combine to facilitate revolutions in certain countries of



South America : lack of the inherent respect for law that has been evolved in more advanced nations, and the admitted intromission of the armed forces in politics, which leads them to take sides in disputes, instead of holding aloof. Military support is invariably sought by contending politicians, and where army discipline is slack the officers are easily involved, either to restore order, suppress real or imaginary abuses, or merely to satisfy a thirst for political power, which appears to be contagious. If the army is united its action is decisive, but when divided its intervention results in prolonged struggle or civil war.

Such has been the case in Bolivia, where junior army officers formed an illegal political association, and aided the National Revolutionary Movement, the M.N.R., to depose General Enrique Peñaranda in December 1943. The nationalist right-wing Government set up by the M.N.R. was overthrown in 1946, when President Gualberto Villarroel was assassinated, and since then the 'Centrist' Administrations of Dr. Enrique Hertzog and his successor, acting President Urriolagoitia have had to face growing opposition. The M.N.R. is increasing its strength, and gaining many adherents in the army and air force, while funds and munitions are amply provided by the refugees and their sympathizers in Peru and Argentina. Rigidly repressed though it is, the M.N.R. only awaits another opportunity to rise. President Urriolagoitia's Government is supported by the liberals, social democrats and revolutionary left party but is opposed by the communists. The last took an active part in the June rebellion, when railway workers were incited to strike, and the miners were roused against the foreign mine owners, but they appear to have had little share in the more widespread, better organized rising of September.

There is no country in the western hemisphere with such fertile soil for unrest as Bolivia. The loss of her outlets to the sea in the Pacific war of 1879-1884 completed her isolation in the mountainous heart of the South American continent. Large tracts of desert in the south, and impenetrable forests in the north-east limit the area available for agriculture. Primitive processes of cultivation restrict production, and lack of inland communications hampers distribution. Home-grown foodstuffs are totally inadequate, while difficult access to the coast through neighbouring territories, across precipitous mountain ranges, inflates the cost of imports. Mining, practically the only industry, is largely in the hands of foreign companies, and minerals account for 98 per cent. of the country's exports. Bolivia is thus one of the poorest nations in South America. Indians represent approximately two-thirds of the population, and many still dwell in walled-in villages, in bitterly cold and barren regions at a height of 12,000 feet above sea level. The condition of the workers in some of the highland mines is only a little better.

Poverty is also the main cause of unrest in Paraguay, the only other

inland country of South America. The five-year war against Brazil, between 1865 and 1870, the struggle with Bolivia, which lasted from 1932 to 1935, and constant internal strife have kept the population below the million mark in an area of 161,000 square miles.

Five months after the deposing in 1948 of Dr. Higino Morinigo, who had ruled the country for eight years, his successor, Natalicio Gonzalez, was overthrown by the Colorado Party which had raised him to power. The movement was instigated by the Minister of Education, Felipe Molas, a dentist by profession, and General Rollon, Minister of Defence, who had contributed to its success by confining his troops to barracks, was appointed head of the provisional government. In February General Rollon was forced to resign, while his principal supporters, who had been decoyed to a luncheon in his honour, were placed under arrest. Felipe Molas then assumed office as President, dissolved the national congress and convened elections for April 17. As the Liberal, Communist and Febrerist Parties, suppressed by Dr. Morinigo in 1947, were still outlawed, the Colorado Party appeared alone at the polls, the few dissident votes were cancelled on technical grounds, and the jovial intrepid Felipe Molas was unanimously elected President.

Despite the unconventional methods adopted to seize power, the new President, on assuming office in May 1949, took conspicuous steps to restore democratic government. He invited the opposition parties to re-form, declared an amnesty for political offenders, announced his intention of reducing the strength of the police force and army, re-organizing the latter on a non-political basis, and appointed an all-civilian Cabinet. Either these advanced measures were considered premature in the disturbed state of the country, or other influences came into operation. Within five months of his election by the Colorado Party, led by Frederico Chavez, the same group withdrew its support, thereby forcing him to resign. The national assembly then appointed Frederico Chavez to replace Felipe Molas pending the elections which, in accordance with the Constitution, must be held within sixty days. The transfer of power was made without disturbance, by constitutional processes, and the people accepted the change of President, the fifth in thirteen months, as a matter of routine.

Frederico Chavez has been significantly described as a "Centrist Democrat", without the personal ties with Argentina which tended to bring Paraguay under the influence of General Perón. During the last year or two uneasiness has been caused by the General's interference in Paraguayan and Bolivian affairs, his uninvited backing of the latter's aspiration to obtain from Chile an outlet on the Pacific Ocean, and by the revelations of the inquiry into the plot against President Vidella of Chile in 1948. These matters are inevitably



linked in the public mind with General Perón's avowed desire to be the leader in South America.

Unrest in Latin-America has been aggravated in recent years by serious post-war difficulties. Production and exports were stimulated after 1939, and new activities were developed to meet allied needs, or to produce essential goods which could no longer be imported. Labour was diverted from its usual channels, and the shortage of workers caused an abrupt increase in wages and costs of production. When hostilities ended and normal markets re-opened many of the new activities had to be abandoned. The resumption of imports on an unprecedented scale, after six years' suspension, struck hard at new industries and quickly absorbed accumulated exchange reserves. Inflationary forces raised the cost of living between 200 and 400 per cent. and wages, although repeatedly increased, were unable to keep pace with rising prices. Economic difficulties caused general unrest, which the communists fomented.

Bolshevism expanded slowly in South America before the war, and in accordance with the programme laid down at the Montevideo Conference of 1934, continued to wear the disguise of an advanced socialist party, whose sole aim was to assist the workers. During the war, it was able to come out into the open, antagonism to its doctrines having been undermined by the Russian alliance, and its affiliation with Moscow was no longer concealed. Its adepts provoked political and social disturbances in several countries, and the growing menace of Communism aroused reactionary forces, which increased confusion and strife.

*(The author, who has lived among Latin-Americans for a generation, writes from Brazil.)*

## FEAR AND THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

BY H. G. NICHOLAS

ON October 14 a New York jury, through the mouthpiece of their Negro forewoman, announced that they found eleven of the leading communists of the United States guilty of conspiring "knowingly and wilfully to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence." Thus ended one of the longest criminal trials in the history of the United States—almost nine months since it began, and over twelve months since the grand jury was impanelled to consider the indictment. Even so, to many observers, it seemed likely that the verdict marked not so much an end as a beginning. Not only did there open up an almost certain vista of appeals to the Supreme Court, but there was also evoked an issue of far more uncertain scope, namely the future policy of the Government towards the Communist Party in the United States.

To persons who resisted the facile conclusions of the Un-American Activities Committee there was good ground for doubting whether the offensive against the American Communist Party had been wisely conducted. The story of this particular prosecution almost certainly went back to the Canadian spy trials of 1944, which had understandably perturbed the American authorities and had made them anxious to ferret out any similar spy ring within the United States. With this in mind, the F.B.I. undertook a preliminary investigation. It would appear, however, that although they uncovered a great deal of circumstantial evidence, tending to implicate individual communists, they lacked confidence in their ability to prove a specific espionage charge in the courts. This at least seems the most plausible explanation of the Government's decision in the summer of 1948 to proceed against the leading members of the Communist Party's National Board, on grounds of having violated the Aliens Registration Act, and to release to the press what would appear to be a collection of miscellaneous items on communist espionage. This information, which in its timing and character would have constituted, in the stricter eyes of the English law, material for a contempt of court action, while undoubtedly damaging the Communist Party in the eyes of American readers, was certainly inadequate as a basis for prosecution. However, as events were to show, this inadequacy did not hold as a



bar to conviction under the Aliens Registration Act.

The Act in question, popularly known as the Smith Act (a deserved tribute to its most ardent advocate, Representative Howard Smith of Virginia), was enacted in June 1940, after a preliminary congressional agitation spread over the previous twelve months. Its title is misleading. It is only incidentally concerned with aliens, and registration plays only a small part in its provisions. It is primarily a federal sedition act, the first since the notorious Aliens and Sedition Act of 1798.

The United States, like any living and evolving democracy, has been continuously engaged since its inception in clarifying and re-defining the relationships between the principle of public order and the principle of freedom of speech. Indeed, owing to the explicit safeguard contained in the First Amendment to the Constitution forbidding the "abridging" of the freedom of speech or of the press, caution and a high degree of self-consciousness have characterized American legislative and judicial action in this sphere over a long period of time. Moreover, as a result of a sustained sequence of judicial endeavours, the Supreme Court has sharpened its tools of constitutional analysis and has evolved a number of tests designed to determine the precise boundaries of the legitimate exercise of free speech. The most famous and valuable of these clarifications was the famous doctrine of Mr. Justice Holmes, that before valid grounds for abridgement existed, it must be proved that the words complained of created "a clear and present danger." Thus it was not sufficient to prove that a theory logically clashed with the principles of American constitutionalism; it had to be established that it would produce *acts*, such as would constitute immediate and serious violence. But as fast as the courts sharpened their instruments of analysis, Congress was busy blunting them. The Smith Act represented, in the opinion of many Americans, a notable contribution towards blurring the distinctions established by Mr. Justice Holmes.

The criticisms of the Smith Act, apart from those who contend that it is a superfluous addition to an already adequate code, concentrate on two features. The first is its extension to peacetime of a sedition law previously confined to war, and the second is its adoption of the "Un-American" concept of guilt by association. To a European observer in the troubled times of the cold war it would seem that it is the second of these objections which carries the greatest force, and it is certainly in this connection that most of the recent apparent violations of civil rights have occurred in the United States. In the Smith Act it is made a crime for a man to be a member of an organization which is subsequently found to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force, regardless of what he himself does. With a view, no doubt, to the dissipation of any doubts about

the legality of the company a man may keep, the Attorney General has recently obliged by publishing (with appropriate reviews from time to time) a list of subversive organizations. So far the Communist Party of the United States has not made its appearance on this catalogue. One of the questions posed by the recent verdict is whether or not it is soon to appear. The judge, Mr. Medina, said that was not the point of issue. Mr. McGrath, the Attorney General, said that the verdict did not outlaw the Communist Party. At the same time many informed observers find it difficult to understand what else it could do.

A further feature of the Smith Act which its critics found objectionable was its attempt to make the mere advocacy of revolution a criminal offence even if no open *acts* were committed. It had however been hoped that this would be invalidated as contrary to the First Amendment, particularly when interpreted in the light of the "clear and present danger" principle. In instructing the jury, however, Mr. Medina addressed himself to the refutation of this line of argument, contending that it was a matter of law to be laid down by the judge whether this "clear and present danger" exists, not a matter of fact to be submitted to the jury. He contended that it was absurd to say that there must be clear and present danger of "immediate" overthrow of the Government; if it was established that a secret, Moscow-inspired conspiracy existed in the form of the Communist Party, then indisputable danger was present.

Few features of the verdict have been so criticized as this, because, it is held, Mr. Medina's interpretation overlays the "clear and present" safeguard with the "guilt by association" doctrine. Once this becomes established it is hard to see where it need stop. Whatever Mr. McGrath might say, it would naturally lead to the outlawing of the Communist Party and could easily be made a basis for prosecuting any member of any one of the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations. For the Communist Party as such no tears would be shed, since amongst all except its own adherents and fellow-travellers it is morally and intellectually discredited. Nevertheless, the fact that it is a political party which is being persecuted gives the average American an unhappy feeling. Without being able to define his uneasiness, he is worried at the thought that an organization, which, at any rate to outward appearance, has no more power than it can win at the polls, might be denied its constitutional right of seeking to win support from the voter. He also finds it difficult to believe that a party whose campaigns have met with no success in elections either for Congress or for the Presidency or for any State or civic office of importance should be regarded as constituting a "clear and present danger" to the Government of the United States. This doubt has been heightened by the subsequent failure of



one of the condemned men, Benjamin Davis, campaigning while on bail, to win even a sizeable minority of votes in a discontented and "under-privileged" district in Harlem. If however the menace of the Communist Party lies, not in its open assault on the affections of the electorate, but in its employment as a breeding ground and hide-out for fifth columnists, spies and saboteurs, a kind of political Alsatia, then it is hard to see what practical advantage is gained by driving it further under ground. No doubt a few of its more timid adherents will be frightened off, but one of the most characteristic features of this fanatical ideology is its capacity to attract characters who are not easily intimidated by threats of martyrdom.

And if the outlawing of the Communist Party seems a doubtful gain, the further application of the principle of "guilt by association" seems even more objectionable. Whatever may be said of the F.B.I.'s black list of subversive organizations (and in the main its catalogue is not an unreasonable one) America has been treated by its Congress, its State legislatures and its minor judicial officials to such a riot of prejudice, misinformation and ignorance approaching the bounds of criminal negligence in the application of this concept that nearly every responsible citizen feels that the time has come to call a halt. So far indeed has the concept of guilt by association gone that it is worth inquiring why it attained the ascendancy it did over the minds of a people naturally devoted to freedom of association. An obvious responsibility, of course, attaches to all the stupid and prejudiced partisans of the right who welcomed the opportunity this afforded for disposing of any of their pet enemies by fastening on them the communist label, however ludicrously inapposite it might be. But a more subtle and probably less intentional betrayal was committed on the left. Not only had it neglected, until the most recent times, to exercise a wise control over the company it kept, affirming with Gambetta (though with less excuse) "no enemies to the Left" but also, when opportunity offered, it invoked this very principle against its opponents on the right. Thus when Mr. Rogge acted as Federal Prosecutor in the 1944-1945 mass sedition trial of fascists, nazis and their American fellow-travellers he invoked a widely extended doctrine of conspiracy which now, as an ardent supporter of Mr. Wallace's "progressives", he may live to see turned against him. And it was about this time that Mr. Max Lerner, one of the ablest and most respected apologists of the American left, criticized the clear and present danger doctrine as requiring modification in the direction of an "intellectual trading with the enemy" standard. Thus groups who ordinarily might be expected to be amongst the foremost defenders of civil liberties have allowed their animosity towards the right to confuse their counsel as much as their indulgence towards Marxism has tainted their own purity. Rather belatedly a

## A LAMPLIGHTER IN VICTORIA STREET

BY S. L. BENSUSAN

THE Victoria Street I have in mind opened in 1819 and was a centre of vast traffic until the dawn of the twentieth century.

A little past the middle of the road I looked out on the world for the first time, a world riddled with proprieties and inhibitions. In those days near my quiet home of pleasant houses and tended gardens the lamplighter came at dusk, a striking and imposing figure who performed minor miracles with a pole that had a luminous metal top. He would walk under one of the posts, make magic passes and a moment later the lamp was shining. There was but a small area of illumination, just enough to emphasize the surrounding darkness and glow for a moment on the lean figure of the magician who, if memory serves me truly, wore the same brown ulster throughout the years. What was it he did, how did he do it? Why was he so brisk and aloof? Whence came he, how long did he labour, was it true that he returned at daybreak to extinguish the lights he had kindled before a risen sun could reveal their insignificance? These were unanswerable questions then and must so remain for time has followed in the familiar tracks and gathered up lamps and lamplighter, with all those whose ways were made bright. This was inevitable; they were grown up when I marvelled at the transformation scene for the first time and saw how dark places became luminous. For a little term a corner of my world was served and it may well be that if the old lamplighter, so dark and bearded who hurried without haste, could leave the bourn from which no traveller returns I should be the only one left to recognize and console him for the passing from service of his brass-headed pole and the oil or gas lamps that engaged his evening and early morning hours. How much he could tell me of his place in Victoria Street and of those he encountered in the dusk!

To-day I in my turn have become a lamplighter, carrying a tiny flame of memory to forgotten byeways of Victoria Street, the places where once I met greatly gifted men and women who deserve a memorial that none paused to set up. Were there not scores of poets, artists, novelists and essayists who enriched life for us in the days when we were most receptive, when we could indulge to the full in what Swinburne so finely called the noble pleasure of praising?



he poet travelled far beyond Victoria Street but a single memory of him, walking briskly, closely buttoned up and alone on Wimbledon Common, belongs to those early days. No need for my tiny lamp where the great men and women of the street are concerned, Meredith, Millais, Melba, Richter, Joachim, Tennyson, Browning, Carlyle and the rest. Their shrines are still tended though the priests are passing ; my lamp is for recesses where much treasure lies neglected and forgotten.

The literary renaissance of the 'nineties was the more attractive because those who took part in it had something to say and did not use a plenitude of words to hide a paucity of thought. They were charged very often with excess of emotion, the rearguards of Victoria Street's proprieties were openly hostile, but you may find more deliberate offence in one modern novel than in all the output of the period. They may have called a spade a spade rather than an agricultural implement, but they did not talk of it as a shovel dipped in blood. As I go down Victoria Street to-day, not nearly so well equipped as the old time worker in his brown ulster, I endeavour to throw a little light if only for a moment on fading records of men and women to whom I am in debt, a debt past paying, for happy hours.

Who are these whose names are barely distinguishable ? First to my mind comes John Leicester Warren, Lord de Tabley, some of whose verse "printed long ago" made up the first volume of *Poems Dramatic and Lyrical*, published by Elkin Matthews & John Lane at the Sign of the Bodley Head in the brave days when I was twenty-one. The same publishers gave us much work by William Watson, John Davidson, Ernest Dowson, Richard le Gallienne ("his very name is an offence to grammar" wrote one indignant critic who could find no beauty in *The Quest for the Golden Girl*), Norman Gale, George Egerton, Kenneth Grahame, Hubert Crackenthorpe, Henry Harland, Nora Hopper, Marriott Watson, Arthur Machen, Alice Meynell, Francis Thompson, and many another. My torch shines upon one and all however dim the gleam, however brief the moment ; it brings them back in their habit as they lived for some were my friends in the brief season of their high noon and others in the season of their decline when they were pleased to be remembered for what they had been and to know that they were talking with one who would not let their memory die before he followed them into the unknown.

How far did these men and women owe the fascination that they exercised, to the youth of those who listened so eagerly to all they had to say or sing ? How could a later generation recapture the first fine careless rapture ? They seemed to carry life and beauty with them, surroundings did not matter. A free lance journalist in close touch with all the haunts of literary Bohemia, it was my

let me see any more old fogies. On Monday week I'll look for something better."

Now the fatal night has arrived, the orchestra has been transformed, and Mr. Wenzel is summoned to the lounge at the close of the ballet. "I congratulate you," says Mr. Tenent, "not only young men at last but better players. All my friends notice the improvement." An agitated conductor, still white, bows to the compliment and turns away. "He knows I was right," Mr. Tenent remarks, "but he hasn't the grace to admit it."

By the entrance I meet blonde, bearded Willie Clarkson, king of wig makers. "Well," he says, "what do you think of my work?" Heartbroken to think of the dismissal of his devoted players, Mr. Wenzel has received an inspiration; we did not call it a brain wave then. He has gone to Willie Clarkson who has fitted every bald head with a wig. Mr. Tenent never learns the truth and continues to boast of his improved orchestra.

In the Leicester Square section of Victoria Street my lamp shines again on Mr. Tenent; he is with a fat, florid, friendly Frenchman. "If you're free" says the Director, "come into the house for half an hour. But first meet M. Lumière of Lyons." Then M. Lumière tells me how he has invented moving pictures that can show a continuous action. We go to the lounge and look on at the rehearsal. My lamp shows the Monte Carlo express coming to the screen so realistically that for a moment I fear the auditorium will be wrecked. On the Monday night I went to the house to see the effect on the audience. When that express train appeared on the screen the people in the stalls swayed to the right or the left as though to save themselves. In that night the cinema was born.

My lamp lights M. Massé, promoter of applause; he explains his purpose in life. "You English are so cold," he says, "great artists freeze. They send for me; I arrange to have a little company to give them welcome. Even Adelina Patti was not too proud to employ me; you can see her letter of thanks." M. Massé was not only the king of claquers he was a man overflowing with human kindness. Many a poor Frenchman in Soho was helped in hours of great need by a ticket for the gallery and eighteen pence; many an artist gathered courage from applause that was readily recognized by the *habitué*.

My lamp shines on great ballet dancers looking with amused contempt upon what were called 'skirt dancers'. The greatest of the Gaiety favourites was Letty Lind who tells me that applause does not satisfy; she has "immortal longings" on her and wants to play Ophelia. But Signorina Legnani, *prima ballerina assoluta* of the Alhambra, assures me that there was nothing in skirt dancing. "I'll show you when we produce Don Juan," she promises, and gives

the most beautiful skirt dance I had seen. The American gentleman who sits next to me chewing a big cigar remarks : " Say, Sir, I guess this makes those Gaiety dames look like three cents beside a dollar."

Across the road at the Covent Garden end of Victoria Street lamplight reveals the last performance of a great *prima donna*, summoned to sing a celebrated rôle before the King and a royal party. Alas, early in the day at a luncheon party she discovered iced melon for the first time and was so fascinated that she dined on it. Dr. Thomas, who looked after the *prima donna* and has his seat by mine in the opera house, has given first aid between the acts but he cannot fight unlimited iced melon and the King, like his august mother, is not amused, though he might have been had he known the facts.

The lamp begins to flicker—it is time to say good-night and seek Victoria Street in dreamland.

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## DAYBREAK ON THE MALVERNS

BY GEOFFREY JOHNSON

So magically

This weeping wet of early morning mist

Implies and yet conceals the fire that soon

Will melt the height and drench with gold the valley ;

So sharply waken

The scents of yesterday ; so frail a web

Now hides the jewels of the dewberry mounds

And glory-glittering presence of the bracken ;

So strange this fasting,

So like my far-off childhood's daybreak feeling

That food must follow as sure as light ; that Love

Within the shimmering flux is everlasting.

For life becoming

And life once having been are felt as one

When the winds lift from their eternal nests,

And the last owl bewails the first bee's humming ;

Nor should I wonder

At meeting my own ghost, the child who glided

With brother ghost and father ghost and watched

The Malverns break, as now, their veils asunder.



## THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

BY HUGH ROSS WILLIAMSON

IN 1931, those of us who cared about the idea of history knew that Herbert Butterfield was one of our very few original thinkers in the subject (if not the only academic one) ; in 1949, thanks to the radio and to the perception of whoever arranged the broadcasts, tens of thousands of non-historians know it ; and the then Fellow of Peterhouse, now Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, is at last popularly acclaimed.

"The most outstanding pronouncement on the meaning of history made by a professional historian in England since Acton's Inaugural." This description of his broadcast lectures *Christianity and History* is not exaggerated praise and now that they are published in an amplified form (corresponding more nearly to the original seven lectures delivered to the Divinity Faculty at Cambridge in 1948)\* their influence will continue and mould popular historical thought no less surely than did the same author's *The Whig Interpretation of History* in the 'thirties. Although in one sense, of course, the one is implicit in the other, and the seventeen years which divide them may be considered merely the necessary time-lag for an idea to make its impact on the public.

This fact makes an examination of Professor Butterfield's thesis permissible, if not obligatory, and he himself early in the lectures issues the challenge : "Our final interpretation of history is the most sovereign decision we can take, and it is clear that every one of us as standing alone in the universe, has to take it for himself. It is our decision about religion, about our total attitude to things and about the way we will appropriate life. And it is inseparable from our decision about the rôle we are going to play ourselves in that very drama of history."

In the last sentence, Professor Butterfield exposes the Achilles heel of historians, though it is difficult to be certain whether he is always full aware of the vulnerability. Because we are a part of the process which we are observing, it is impossible for history to be reckoned among the sciences. Because we view events in a highly individual way, with preferences for those sympathetic to our own natures, true objectivity is impossible. Because any one event has

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\* *Christianity and History*, by Herbert Butterfield. Bell. 7s. 6d.

more causes than we can ever know, let alone analyse, and more consequences than we can ever trace, let alone assess, it is impossible for history to be 'true' (in the sense that it is based on a knowledge of all the relevant facts) or 'valuable' (in the sense that we can deduce from it 'lessons' for the future). All history is, as Keyserling said, necessarily mythology; and most history, one may add, is mythology's wicked sister, propaganda.

No one has done more than Professor Butterfield himself in *The Whig Interpretation* to make this clear. His demolition of the view of history current for two and a half centuries was, essentially, the exposure of the absurdity of supposing that the whole historical process led up to the time and place where the observer was standing—"the whig historian stands on the summit of the twentieth century and organizes his scheme of history from the point of view of his own day." And once this is grasped, one can never again read what is still popularly known as 'history' without a faint sense of critical amusement. In *The Whig Interpretation*, for instance, the author gave one example of a view that was not then in 1931 quite eradicated, "that the Middle Ages represented a period of darkness when man was kept tongue-tied by authority—a period against which the Renaissance was the reaction and the Reformation the great rebellion," an attitude illustrated to perfection by the street-corner-orator's pronouncement: "When the Pope ruled England them was called the Dark Ages."

Now, in *Christianity and History*, he shows the propaganda element still at work conditioning the 'popular' political outlook.

In the *British Documents on the Origins of the War* the crucial volume for July 1914 contains some interesting scraps of documents—only a few lines of them in particularly small print—belonging to a class of evidence which the editors had some difficulty in getting published, and which will not be published in the parallel series of documents now appearing for the *Second World War*. A person who looks hard at those half a dozen lines, and broods over them until their implications simply stare him in the face, will find them so important that he must go back to the beginning again—he must re-read hundreds of pages of documents before and after the critical point, to find what they now mean in the light of those few significant sentences.

Here the operative words are surely those I have italicized. And how many Englishmen are aware of the fact which, the Professor rightly says, all Englishmen—whether governors, citizens or students—should stare at for a long time, "that at the end of the Napoleonic wars the British were so convinced that the French always would be the aggressors and the enemies of mankind that they insisted on installing a strong Prussia in the Rhineland to fortify Germany, even though the Prussians were unwilling to be aggrandized in that region and complained that it would only bring them into conflict with France."

Though by implication, Professor Butterfield makes quite clear the truth of the dying Walpole's remark : " Read me anything but history, for that is bound to be false," he does not sufficiently develop the consequences. Not that one blames him, for there are things which it would be unseemly for a Professor of Modern History to state explicitly. That iconoclasm must be left to the non-academics. Yet, in stating the mythological theory, he might, perhaps, have ventured a little further than he does. " Using the word myth not to represent something untrue or something which did not happen, but to typify an essential process in history," he mentions the Marxist myth (" that history works on the principle of thesis fighting its antithesis, the conflict resulting in the discovery of a new synthesis "\*" ) and thinks it, truly enough, " a better myth or pattern to have by us than the generally accepted view of a linear development, an ascending course of progress in history " (which is, roughly, the Whig myth). He also instances Toynbee's challenge-and-response myth and the Renaissance myth—" the idea of the phoenix rising to new life out of its own ashes." But why stop with these respectable examples ? Why not the British-Israelite myth ? Why not find the clue to history in vegetarianism or abstention from alcohol (the Mohammedan conquests, for example) or the Yellow Peril or anything that happens to take your fancy ? Since the only criterion of propaganda is its utility, or of a myth (which is metaphysical propaganda) its empiricism, why draw an arbitrary line ? For it cannot be the line of ' truth '.

It is at this point that one comes to the fundamental criticism of Professor Butterfield's thesis. He includes with the ' myths ' the famous picture of the ' Suffering Servant '.

It does not matter for our particular purpose whether this suffering servant were intended to describe an individual who had actually lived, or the author's autobiographical experience, or the figure of some future Messiah. Nor does it matter if the picture of the Suffering Servant is meant to denote a collective body, like the people of Israel themselves (or the people of Israel idealized) or to mark out prophetically the ideal rôle of the Church. It does not even matter if the picture owes something to a kind of pagan ritual, or is coloured by the part ascribed to the King in a Babylonian cultus. The fact that these alternative theories have been held—sometimes a number of them concurrently by the same scholars—increases the strength of the argument that here at any rate is a pattern or representation of something which is essential, something which lies at the roots of history.

Now, if the full Christian view of history is true, this particular ' myth '—by whatever temporal process it has developed—is different in kind and not merely in degree from the other myths. It is part of eternal truth and belongs to the sphere of revelation (which, I take it, is not quite what Professor Butterfield means by " essential,

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\* But is not this more accurately the Hegelian myth ? Is not the distinguishing feature of the Marxist interpretation - even though it may be ' Hegelianism standing on its head ' - its *materialist* motive and context ?



something which lies at the roots of history"). For the true Christian view of history implies much more than the fact that Christianity had its origin in certain verifiable historical events and that the whole historical process is perpetually under the judgment of God. It involves the view of the Church as the Visible Body of Christ in the world. It involves the principle of particularity—the particular choice of one nation, the Jews, as the covenant nation to which the truth was revealed in a way in which it was not revealed, for instance, to contemporary Greece or Rome or Egypt ; the appearance of God-in-flesh as a particular person Who was "crucified under Pontius Pilate" on such-and-such a day in such-and-such a place ; and His continuation in time and place in His Body the Church, to which the promises made to the Jews under the old covenant were transferred (after the once 'Chosen People's' rejection of Him) by the new covenant.

For the first part of the way, the Jewish interpretation of history would agree with the Christian ; the Mohammedan interpretation would agree a little further ; the Protestant interpretation would go further still, not rejecting the divine rôle of the Church for a thousand years or so ; but only what I have called the full Christian, but which others might call the Catholic and some the 'ecclesiastical', interpretation gives full weight to the relationship of Christianity and history. And basically, Professor Butterfield rejects this, and this rejection makes his thesis finally unsatisfactory. For he is caught in a dilemma from which he cannot extricate himself.

To say, for example, "I think that in modern centuries the unbeliever has sometimes even fought the churchman for what *we to-day would regard as the higher ethical end*, the one which most corresponds with the deeper influences of Christianity" (my italics) is to adopt the subjective 'Whig' view in its most blatant form. When he writes : "When I hear churchmen condemning Communism to-day and saying that only liberal democracy is admissible for a Christian form of society, I am faced by the fact that so far as I can see ecclesiastical authority at the critical moment once condemned democracy in the same way," he should have substituted 'Protestantism' for 'churchmen', for he must know that Catholicism has consistently condemned liberal democracy. And again the Whig voice : "Socialism itself comes down to us curiously tied up with secularism, anti-clericalism and unbelief. Many of the things *which the twentieth century now prizes so much* may have been born of Christian charity in the last resort, but they often had to fight the dominant voice in the Church and established their footing in history too often as anti-Christian movements." And "sometimes, indeed, as in the case of freedom of conscience, the Church has bitterly fought the world, and I am confronted by the anomaly that it was the world which stood for the

cause *now regarded as the right one* even by the clergy themselves."

Quotations could be multiplied, but it will be seen—nor, I think, would Professor Butterfield dispute it—that the 'Christian' interpretation of history is not really, on these assumptions, much more than an ethical version of liberal mythology. Standing within a democratic welfare State in the twentieth century, we look back and can endorse certain ethical maxims taught by the Christian Church ; and we consider the Christian teaching is true because we have adopted it as a modern shibboleth.

But surely the Christian interpretation of history is something very different from this. To expound it fully would need a book the length of Professor Butterfield's, but the essence of it is that the Body of Christ is still in the world, is still proclaiming absolute truth and is part of the historical process in that it acts in, it judges, it suffers from and—in parts and on occasion—is corrupted by the secular context. When Professor Butterfield writes : " It is essential not to have faith in human nature " as one of the ' lessons ' of history, he is writing theologically as a Christian, finding the doctrine of Fall illustrated in history. Similarly, he is writing as a Christian when he says : " We envisage our history in the proper light if we say that each generation—indeed each individual—exists for the glory of God ; but one of the most dangerous things in life is to subordinate human personality to production, to the State, even to civilization itself, to anything but the glory of God." Here, indeed, he is epitomizing the Church's teaching, defining the touchstone by which every historical phenomenon must be—and is—judged by the Christian. But this is a truth of revelation, based on faith ; not a ' historical ', still less a ' scientific ' truth ; and if it is to be applied to the interpretation of history, it can only be done so *objectively* by that Divine Body which is its custodian.

" The claim has been made," writes the Professor, " that every man must have an attitude to the French Revolution—must make a decision about it somehow—as part of the stand that he generally takes in life." This seems to be as good a test case as any other for the Christian interpretation. And it is very simple. The French Revolution in intention and effect, was an attack on Christianity. As Newman put it in a memorable passage : " In that great and famous nation, once great for its love of Christ's Church, since memorable for deeds of blasphemy, there took place . . . an open apostasy from Christianity ; not from Christianity only, but from every kind of worship which might retain any semblance or pretence of the great truths of religion. Atheism was absolutely professed. They prevailed upon an unhappy man, whom their proceedings had forced upon the Church as Archbishop, to come before them in public and declare that there was no God and that what he had

hitherto taught was a fable. They wrote up over their burial places that death was an eternal sleep. They closed the churches, they seized and desecrated the gold and silver plate belonging to them, turning these sacred instruments, like Belshazzar, to the use of their impious revellings ; they formed mock processions, clad in priestly garments, and singing profane hymns. They annulled the divine ordinance of marriage, resolving it into a mere civil contract to be made and dissolved at pleasure. These things are but part of their enormities. On the other hand . . . they gave a name to the reprobate State itself into which they had thrown themselves and exalted it, that very negation of religion, or rather that real and living blasphemy, into a kind of God. They called it Liberty and they *literally* worshipped it."

Here, it seems to me, is a Christian judgment and that it is not the one generally made is due to the fact that the counter-religion of 'Liberty' has still so strong a propaganda-backing that it conditions many of our presuppositions, including those of the desirability of the 'welfare State' and 'liberal democracy'. One might even see in a 'Christianity' which has made terms with the ideals of the French Revolution, the parody which haunts Professor Butterfield's thesis and involves him in his contradictions, the 'Christianity' of liberty, democracy and toleration, instead of authority, obedience and charity.

*Christianity and History*, therefore, for all its persuasiveness and brilliance, one cannot but regard as an interim work—a development in certain aspects of *The Whig Interpretation*. It closes with the words : "We can do worse than remember a principle which both gives us a firm Rock and leaves us the maximum elasticity for our minds : the principle : Hold to Christ and for the rest be totally uncommitted." May one hope that Professor Butterfield's next and positive task will be to explore the true nature of the Rock ?



# THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

## THE CLASSICS IN TRANSLATION

By W. THOMSON HILL

HAVE the writers of antiquity anything to say to us—meaning by us the wide public who know little Greek or Latin? If so, it must be in translation (though translation may lead some at least to the originals). An old servant of the public, Dr. Scott Lidgett, after sixty years as Warden of the Bermondsey Settlement, spoke recently of Greek as “the greatest legacy of learning.” If that were so learning must offer its greatest treasure to the poorest.

Trivial reading is offered in greater volume on every hand. It has been said that some substantial portion of the public reads only the sensational newspapers and a percentage of these no more than the headlines. Those who cater for such tastes have their reward in large circulations. There is another public—and there are signs that it is on the increase—which is impatient of the reading provided for it. One of the signs is the popularity of reprints, or shortened versions, of English classics.

Translators of Greek and Latin authors have an opportunity here—may one say a high vocation? If they have derived refreshment of spirit, intellectual stimulus, a widening of their horizon, an increasing zest for life accompanied by a better knowledge of the past and a curiosity about the future, from their own classical reading, and have found there a training in clear thinking and a delight in noble language, can they fail to want to share it?

A new group of translations brings us in touch with Herodotus and Euripides, Demosthenes and Cicero, and with Prudentius, a writer of the fourth century A.D. who has a place in

history in bringing the pagan culture into the service of Christianity.\* He belongs to the classical age of Christian literature; his Latin hymns bridge the gulf between two worlds, and in our own day have come back into favour. Nine of its hymns appear in *The English Hymnal* and one of them, “Bethlehem, of noblest cities” has long been a wide favourite, not easily recognized in its original “*O sola magnarum urbium.*”

The four other writers belong to universal culture. They hold their place there not through any pretence of pedagogy but by the royal right of speaking to the human heart. Herodotus wrote at the beginning, Euripides near the end of the period when Greek prose and verse reached their highest level. Demosthenes perfected those weapons of written eloquence which great oratory employs to this day. Cicero, sitting at the feet of Attic writers, himself both writer and orator, carried the tradition into the Augustan Age, and in this work† discusses the art of public speaking by comparison with Greek models.

What have these writers in common? It is indeed difficult to comprehend Herodotus in any generalization. He was the first great European prose writer; but his idiom was Ionic, not Attic. The maturity of history begins with Thucydides. Herodotus had no such precision of phrase and no such austere design. He wrote, as his opening paragraph says, to recount the “great and marvellous” actions of Greeks and Barbarians in order to preserve their remembrance from decay. But he was the first to bring genius to the service of history; the first moreover to give to history the

\* *Prudentius*, I. Translated by H. J. Thompson. Loeb Library. Heinemann. 15s.

† *Cicero*. *De Inventione*, *De optimo genere oratorum*, *Topica*. Translated by H. M. Hubbell. Loeb Library. Heinemann. 15s.

support of geography learnt by personal travel.

The common quality in them all lay in a certain quickness of spirit, an eager apprehension assumed in the reader, communicated by the writer, and transmitted to us across 24 centuries. In the Attic writers, as in Cicero their pupil, the response of reader to writer was sharpened by all the arts of a perfected expression—by grace of word and phrase, variety of matter, contrast of strong emotion with quiet utterance. Mortal thrusts were given by irony and understatement; and all these elements were disciplined under a single command to a single purpose.

Let us remember for our own writing's sake that the Hellenic vocabulary, however warmed by the various idioms of scattered communities, was less copious than ours and more readily understood. The play of genius might give new meaning to old words; the words themselves were a common possession. Aristophanes indeed could burlesque them; his jesting coinages were minted from the common speech. There was no room, as yet, for pedantry. The words were chosen to drive straight home.

Whatever else it might be, such writing could never be dull. Herodotus is the born story-teller. His "marvels" are the decoration of his main theme. They give relief and variety to the grand procession of events: the rise of empires, the fall of thrones, the clash of ambitions, the overthrow of Babylon, the victories of Marathon and Salamis. Euripides purges the emotions with pity and terror, according to Aristotle's rule; his plot, in the *Medea*, is almost modern—the pathos of the foreign woman isolated in an alien setting and linked to a returned hero with no trace of the heroic left. Demosthenes scorches the self-esteem of his opponents with red-hot words.

In the translations before us Mr. Enoch Powell's *Herodotus* employs "in the main, the English of the Authorized Version," supplemented by

a few words of later origin. This choice of language would be thoroughly unsuited to the purely Attic writers; in the case of Herodotus it preserves some flavour of his archaic turn of phrase. It may be a doubtful choice to some tastes for a translation of 1949; yet the recounting in Old Testament language of some Old Testament events gives it dignity and suggests comparisons. This is a scholarly work\* as well as a beginner's book. The maps are inadequate.

The *Medea* and the *Ion* of Euripides are here translated into prose†. I have read both with heightened interest and I believe they would stand the test of dramatic performance. Poetry sings; prose speaks (in the definition of a French scholar). The prose medium is beyond question more easily assimilable to-day. In the dialogue passages in both these plays the cut and thrust is as lively as real conversation. English prose can sing as well as speak at need. Mr. Lucas uses it in this way in some of the longer monologues without losing touch with his reader's interest.

Neither the *Demosthenes*‡ nor the *Cicero* in these new Loeb volumes is representative of its author. The Demosthenes is the final volume with an index to the whole seven. The authenticity both of the Funeral Speech and the Erotic Essay has been denied; in the first complete English translation it was right to include them.

Cicero is represented in his earliest and last work on public speaking. He considers the origin of "this thing we call eloquence," its practice and its importance. Both treatises are full of hints still valid.

\* *Herodotus*. Translated by J. Enoch Powell. Oxford University Press: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 2 vols. 21s.

† The *Ion* and the *Medea* of Euripides. Translated into English prose by D. W. Lucas. Cohen and West. 5s. each.

‡ *Demosthenes*, VII. Funeral Speech, Erotic Essay, Exordia and Letters. Translated by N.W. and N.J. Dewitt. Loeb Library. Heinemann. 15s.

**THE ITALIAN LEFT**, by W. Hilton-Young. *Longmans*. 15s.

This latest addition to the good books on Italian political affairs describes the uncertain beginnings of Italian Socialism in the second half of last century, its battles and its splits in the first quarter of this, the rise of Communism, the plight and unity of the left in exile during the dictatorship, and the revival at home of its activities and its rivalries after the liberation. As many Italians complain when they consider the process of disintegration, which has gone deeper since the author wrote his conclusions, Socialism appears to have returned to where it stood fifty years ago. This in itself makes a dull story, but Mr. Hilton-Young sets it against the more colourful background of Italian history and politics, and lights it with the brilliance of his pen. As a result, the reader's interest does not flag, and this is no mean achievement.

His method has, of course, its drawbacks. Though the left acquires its proper place in the national and international stage, it sometimes ceases to be the main character of the drama. Little is said, for instance, of its political programmes, and even less of its leaders, with the exception of those in the forefront. Accuracy is a sore point: Professor Toniolo becomes a Monsignore (p. 86), while former President de Nicola deserts the bar to teach constitutional law (p. 189). Bishop Bonomelli leaves his Cremona for Pisa (p. 86). The "unscholarly popularizations" of Marx by "a certain Loria" could not have been known in the "seventies" (p. 16), when that great economist was still in his 'teens. Other well-known people, like Graziadei and Zaniboni, share the same lack of distinction. Zanardelli's revision of the Piedmontese "legal code", which, incidentally, must be the criminal code, is no longer the basis of Italian law (p. 50), for its reform almost twenty years ago was based on very different conceptions.

These and other details apart, Mr.

Hilton-Young shows a good insight of Italy and the Italians. Portraits like those of Signor Parri and Signor Nenni (and he has praise for the former and hard things to say to the latter) are very much alive. His views on some contemporary events may be personal, but his knowledge of them is first-hand.

His final plea, that socialist leaders must pay more attention to what he calls "the problem of Italy," overpopulation, certainly deserves to be listened to, but one of the keys to its solution is emigration, and this lies abroad and out of their grasp.

G. E. TREVES.

**FRANCE 1814-1940. A History**, by J. P. T. Bury. *Methuen*. 18s.

Professional historians, with the obvious exception of Dr. G. M. Trevelyan, are not infrequently dull dogs, from the point of view of the ordinary educated reader. Or else the bees buzzing in their bonnets detract fatally from their reliability. Mr. Bury, however—a University Lecturer in Cambridge—has produced a study which is comprehensive, entirely objective, reliable and readable. In a modest Foreword the author disclaims any pretension to originality: but no one, surely, would wish to quarrel with a historian who, like Montaigne, "*prend son bien où il le trouve*." Each chapter, incidentally, is buttressed by an ample bibliography, and—a gift beyond price—Mr. Bury (or his publisher) has had the wit to print in the Appendices the texts of the successive Constitutions of the period.

The subject, certainly, is a grateful one. So much happened to France's internal development, as it were, during those 125 years, in comparison with other countries; and each shift of the kaleidoscope was of vital importance for the whole of Europe. First there is the majestic figure of Talleyrand to whom chief credit must be given for the restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy in 1814, as the solution which represented the 'Highest Common Factor' among Frenchmen. Louis XVIII graciously



conferred on his people a Charter patterned ostensibly on the English Constitution. "A most liberal instrument" for those times, it suffered the common fate of paper schemes when reality, in the shape of Napoleon escaped from Elba, impinged. The Royalists had a second chance, under Allied tutelage, after Waterloo, but only succeeded in discrediting the whole conception of restoration. Politically, there had to be a French equivalent of our 1688, and Louis-Philippe provided just that. Nevertheless it is pertinent that during the restoration period as in the heyday of the *bourgeois* of 1830-1848, as Mr. Bury shows, there was a notable material efflorescence which was to supply an essential element of stability in the later years. From those years of the July monarchy dates the polarization between the Party of Order (at first called Resistance) and the Party of Movement, which has

remained the salient characteristic of French political life. 1848 casts the shadow of social revolution, which, however, Louis Napoleon contrives to exorcize by the talisman of universal suffrage. The course of the Second Empire demonstrates the fundamental fact about France, in comparison with other Latin nations—that the bulk of the people are partisans of order, conservatives in fact, not least on account of the predominantly agrarian background, which has even to-day not lost its importance.

What Thiers said of 1875, "the Republic will be conservative or it will be not at all," is equally true to-day, despite all surface effervescence. A new class came to rule, the *petite bourgeoisie*, which still has its hands on the helm. During the Third Republic, it is true, relations of Church and State were about as bad as they could be in an ordered State, and for

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this both sides were to blame. In this respect, at any rate, the Fourth is an improvement on the Third. It remains only for what is essentially a sound body politic—however much this affirmation may shock the 'Anglo-Saxon' critic—to absorb the ferments from the social gains of the 1939-1945 war.

WILLIAM RYDAL.

**SRI AUROBINDO**, by G. H. Langley.

*David Marlowe. 10s. 6d.*

**THE ESSENTIALS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY**, by M. Hirianna.

*Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.*

Indian philosophy and philosophers are exercising no small attraction for many Western writers and thinkers at the present time, and here are two books which afford very great help to the understanding of that thought.

Professor Langley has written his book at the request of the Royal India and Pakistan Society, and to it the Marquess of Zetland has written an admirable and judicious Introduction. It is an excellent little book and very timely, for, whilst Sri Aurobindo's text is pre-eminently the Gita and his inspiration the Vedic writings, he brings to the interpretation of Indian thought a mind that was shaped in part in the West, and the West has left an indelible mark upon him. From it he has drawn two all-important working hypotheses—the theory of evolution on the one hand, and an acute sense of the importance of the actual earthly milieu in which all philosophy has to work itself out on the other. Evolution enables him to construct an ascending hierarchy of mental states and values, so that we get a picture of a divine life which is completely unconscious in the lower forms of reality. These lower forms have implicit in them all the higher forms, and as these higher forms emerge they integrate into themselves the lower forms.

Highest of all forms is the self-conscious man, yet self-consciousness is only a prophecy of a higher consciousness still, the consciousness of the

divine. That will inevitably come to full light in the course of evolution, but if man will use the appropriate means, it is open to him here and now. It is that higher self-consciousness that is needed to create a world which will truly be a reflection of the divine. The distinction between ordinary self-consciousness and the higher spiritual consciousness is that, in the former, man stands apart from his world to discover and interpret it; in the latter, he becomes one with his world and speaks from within. Hence the descriptions of science, whilst true as far as they go, have only a limited validity, and they have in turn to be complemented and interpreted by those provided by the spiritual consciousness. Professor Langley rightly makes the point that here Sri Aurobindo's thought wavers; sometimes he speaks as though there is an effective criticism of the deliverances of the spiritual consciousness by science, but at others he seems to suggest that the coherence and harmony, the joy, the universality and the enhancement of personality which mark "spiritual" knowledge provide so sure a warrant that they are true, that the deliverances of science must yield to them.

Professor Langley has written a fine and admirably lucid book, and he has added a chapter at the end on Sri Aurobindo's poetry which makes us hope that he will give us at some time or other—and the sooner the better—a much fuller study of it.

Professor Hirianna's book has its own but different excellences. If it lacks the sweep of Professor Radakrishnan's treatment of the same theme in his two famous volumes, and the dramatic quality of Sri Aurobindo's thought, it is nevertheless a very competent exposition and study of the organic development of Indian philosophy. Professor Hirianna begins by a close and careful study of the three strands which together make up the Veda—Mantras, Brahmanas and Upanishads—and goes on to trace the way

in which these gave rise to the classic systems of Indian thought. He turns aside to discuss three schools which are non-Vedic in origin—Materialism, Jainism and Buddhism—and then devotes the greater part of the remainder of his book to an elucidation of the development of the classic forms and schools themselves. It is a book mainly for students who are primarily interested to know Indian thought *per se*, and for this specific purpose the work could hardly have been better done. The author's architectonic capacity makes the book easy to read, and it is well calculated to give the student a really effective grasp of its subject.

B. C. FLOWRIGHT.

**NINETEENTH CENTURY STUDIES**, by Basil Willey. *Chatto & Windus*. 15s.

"In two former treatises," writes Professor Willey, "dealing with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the argument led up to Wordsworth; I begin the present studies with Coleridge." In the word "studies" may be found the key to his new volume. Before, in the *Seventeenth Century Background* (1934) and the *Eighteenth Century Background* (1940), Professor Willey—as his titles implied—was concerned principally with the general sweep of each century and its main trends: here his approach has been re-orientated, since nineteenth century literature and philosophical thought is too voluminous and variegated to be viewed from a single aspect. Rather, therefore, than impose a fixed pattern on his work for the sake of conformity with his previous two volumes, he has preferred to present a number of separate studies; of Coleridge and George Eliot, Carlyle and Matthew Arnold, John Stuart Mill and Newman, together with some shorter essays on Bentham's *Deontology*, Hennell, Strauss and Feuerbach. In short, his decision to renounce conformity is but an indication of his integrity as a critic.

A censure which can be brought

against a good deal of academic criticism is that, while sensitive, it lacks the ability to generalize compellingly and much of the research counts for little owing to an inability to incorporate it smoothly. In contrast, Professor Willey not only summarizes other authors' arguments, but re-states them in such a way that he re-animates them. Of George Eliot's philosophy, with its replacement of faith by love and sympathy, its elevation of the natural and elimination of the supernatural, he says: "Heaven will not help us, so we must help ourselves."

At times, however, this use of direct speech is misleading. In the chapter on Newman and the Oxford Movement there are passages where one cannot be sure if Professor Willey is giving his own views or those of Newman; and this is unfortunate because he writes of Newman's saintliness with rare insight. At Oxford when scholars used to pass him in the street, they would whisper: "Look, that's Newman!" for, as Professor Willey says: "Newman had the air of one whose converse had been in Heaven, as indeed it had." Elsewhere in answer to the charge that Newman was a reactionary dreamer, he replies: "If he lacks interest in what was specifically of the nineteenth century, it was because he was a spectator of all time and existence." This is well said, especially now when so much scholarship on the nineteenth century has led to a philosophical relativism; to a belief that there are no eternal truths; to a belief that each philosophy is an expression of its own age and that there are no two ages which possess the same philosophical intentions. Against such interpretation, Professor Willey's book is an inspiring corrective.

NEVILLE BRAYBROOKE.

**CLOAK OF CHARITY**, by Betsy Rodgers. *Methuen*. 16s.

The mood of exultation which greeted the fall of the Bastille—to which John Howard, whose work of prison reform



is described in this book, failed to gain admission—was swiftly followed in England by one of fear. The domestic political pendulum swung violently from reform to re-action; those who did not hasten to disavow former opinions were likely to be misjudged.

One of those unjustly to suffer was Hannah More, friend in earlier days of David Garrick and Dr. Johnson. She was accused, as Mrs. Rodgers describes in her book on eighteenth century philanthropists, of entertaining 'French principles' although later she composed tracts attacking them. It is hard for us now to appreciate eighteenth century ideas of charity, then regarded as a passport to heaven, and the effect upon them of events in Europe. Mrs. Rodgers' book, without being profound, takes us a long way on the road to understanding.

Hannah More's chief philanthropic interest was in Sunday schools and, like the more gentle Mrs. Trimmer, of whom the author also treats, schools of industry. Both sets of schools had much the same object, to keep poor children fully occupied and thus away from immoral and unruly pursuits. There is an obvious comparison with modern times: our concern with the decline of religion and the increase of delinquency. Mrs. Trimmer may have been nearly the first but she was certainly far from being the last to fear "that popular education, if not wisely and carefully directed, might lead to popular discontent." Others might call this discontent divine. If the philanthropists' efforts now seem futile and at best misdirected what may ours of voluntary clubs and youth organizations look like in 2100?

The prosperous Robert Raikes, whose character as revealed by Mrs. Rodgers, had little of the softness now to be expected from a founder of Sunday schools, mixed this interest with that of prison reform. Like John Wesley, he met Howard, a fearless, stubborn man whose ideas of prison as a place of punishment were harsh but instrumental

in bringing about important reforms.

On one point, the preservation of child life, we may be satisfied with progress. The figures of death given by Mrs. Rodgers in her chapter on Captain Coram and the Foundling Hospital now appal us. The hospital was doing well when less than half of the babies died. Coram and Jonas Hanway, who extended an interest in pauper children to penitent prostitutes, are two of the most attractive figures in Mrs. Rodgers' book. The final chapter is on the efforts to abolish the slave trade, featuring, as the films say, Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce.

JOHN ARMITAGE.

**TWO MOUNTAINS AND A RIVER,**  
by H. W. Tilman. *Cambridge University Press.* 21s.

**MAPS AND MAP-MAKERS,** by R. V. Tooley. *Batsford.* 30s.

As quite a number of us are not Himalayan mountaineers and care not overmuch whether one of the fraternity reaches the summit of the mountain he sets out to scale, so long as he tells us of the expedition in a prose we can admire, let me say that I utterly disagree with Mr. Tilman's last paragraph which would have us believe that he has been "conspicuously lacking in success." Let others if they wish climb to the top of Rakaposhi; but unless they describe their experiences with, say, half the charm of Mr. Tilman, they will have scant success in attracting us to their books. In the company of two Swiss companions and Mr. Campbell Secord who "although he was working in a Government office his time was not his own" we are taken to the best hotel in Abbottabad where the four resourceful Sherpa porters stayed for a week for three rupees, as they slept under a bush in the garden. If any of my readers may be inclined to attempt similar economic habits he may like to have the Kirghiz remedy for frostbite, which, says Mr. Tilman, consists in a nasty mixture of soot and butter.

As a contrast we come to Kashgar

with its bazaar like a perpetual harvest festival, the land being so fertile that a Chinese army marched through it for 4,000 miles by sending in advance troops who sowed cereals and vegetables to be reaped in due course by the main body. How delightfully Mr. Tilman has done his reaping of literature, for his quotations from every kind of source are extremely and most amusingly apt. His publishers think it is risky to say that he reminds one of Borrow—not at all, there is no risk involved. You may remember that when Borrow was taking a consignment of New Testaments into Spain, which prohibited their importation, his persuasiveness succeeded in selling some of them to the Customs officials. If you pick up Mr. Tilman's book in a shop and glance at a page or two, the salesman will require no persuasiveness at all.

"Like a great many of us," says Mr. Tilman, "some explorers wish to eat their cake and have it. They enjoy the thrill and claim the credit of traversing new country and at the same time are ungrateful enough to complain of the inadequacy of the map." No sort of complaint can follow the perusal of Mr. Tooley's superbly illustrated volume, wherein we absolutely wallow in maps of all ages, paying our tribute to the great Ptolemy who was pre-eminent from A.D. 150 down to the sixteenth century. Then the fascinating pages devoted to the portolanos, charts made by seamen for seamen, permit us to sail vicariously over the world. And for roughly a century, from 1570 to 1670, the Low Countries produced in some respects the greatest map-makers of the world. The *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, produced by Ortelius of Antwerp in 1570, went through four editions in that year, the famous Mercator delaying the publication of his own atlas in order that his young friend Ortelius might have the honour of being first in the field with a standardized atlas. The first manuscript showing the discovery of the New World is Juan de la Cosa's map of 1500. It displays a solid land

barrier to expansion in the West, though it must be remembered that Columbus thought he had made his landfall on the eastern shores of Asia, and la Cosa was pilot to Columbus.

Australia provides one of the most fascinating of all studies in regional geography. Alone among the continents of the world Australia was in a sense imagined centuries prior to its actual discovery. Pre-Christian cosmographers from a known land-mass in the north postulated a great southern continent to counterpoise the globe. Mercator himself, Ortelius and their successors and imitators show a continuous land-mass stretching across the base of their maps, and this cartographical figment exists in varying forms right down to the eighteenth century, and was finally dispelled by Captain Cook. Among the curiosities is Coven's and Mortier's map of the East Indies, on which New Guinea is shown twice, under its own name and farther to the west as *Terra de Papous*. And much else of intense interest both to professionals and amateurs is included in this wonderful book.

HENRY BAERLEIN.

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**THE DRAWINGS OF HENRY FUSELI**, by Paul Ganz. With a foreword by John Piper. *Max Parrish*. 42s.

**PRACTICAL PORTRAIT PAINTING**, by Frank Slater. *Seeley Service*. 25s.

In the history of painting, there are only a few artists who, because of their undeniable greatness, are held in constantly high regard, century after century. For those of lesser stature, there is no final assessment. They are summoned into favour, or dismissed from it, by the current enthusiasms or prejudices of each successive generation.

The reputation of Henry Fuseli, great in his own day, has been, in the course of a hundred years, belittled and almost forgotten. This neglect may be partly due to the fervent admiration

that is felt for his younger contemporary, William Blake. A strong affinity of style and approach invites a comparison by which Fuseli suffers to the extent of being regarded as an inferior Blake. Such a judgment based on mutual similarities discounts the more significant and important aspect of individual differences and does less than justice to Fuseli. Professor Ganz supplies another reason why the artist has been disregarded in England. "Nearly all his works", he writes, "were acquired by a small group of aristocratic patrons whose descendants relegated them to the attics and servants' quarters of their country seats, holding them to be eccentric and likely to frighten the children." Nowadays, it is perhaps these eccentric and child-frightening qualities which excite contemporary interest. Much of Fuseli's work is pervaded by a supernatural atmosphere which is akin to the dreamlike settings created by Dali, Ernst, Miró and others described as surrealists. "It is not, I believe, the real point of the drawings," Mr. John Piper says in his thoughtful foreword, "but it is the reason for their present prominence."

Henry Fuseli was born in Zurich in 1741. He came to England when he was twenty-three. Five years later, acting on the advice and encouragement of Sir Joshua Reynolds, he travelled to Rome to complete his education as a painter. He turned unhesitatingly to the works of Michelangelo, for in their majesty, scale, power and in their dramatic intensity, he recognized the kind of greatness which was the very echo of his own aspirations. "Common-place figures", he asserted, "are as inadmissible in the grand style of painting as common-place sentiments or characters in poetry." In 1774 he returned to England. His reputation as a painter and illustrator grew quickly. Professor Ganz points out that in his imaginative conceptions with their mood of terror and mystery, "Fuseli was at one with the atmosphere of crisis which pervaded all classes; he knew the anxiety with which many

people looked forward to social upheavals such as had already occurred in two continents." Man and his behaviour in earthly and unearthly predicaments became the theme of his works, and drawing, rather than painting, his most direct and eloquent means of expression. To modern eyes, it is certainly true that his drawings are more acceptable than his paintings. Even his contemporary and advocate, William Blake, expressed an unmistakable preference for the former. "His oil pictures are, for the most part," he wrote in his diary, "monstrously overloaded in bulk as in style, and not less overloaded in mere slimy pigment. But his sketches in water-wash and pencil or pen and ink should yet be formed, ere too late, into a precious national collection, including, as they do, many specimens than which not the greatest Italian master could show proof of mastery."

It is largely thanks to the work and research of Professor Ganz and the Director of the Zurich Kunsthhaus, Dr. Wilhelm Wartmann, that a number of Fuseli's paintings and drawings may now be seen as a permanent showing in the art gallery of his native town. The "precious collection" envisaged by Blake may be seen in this handsome and well printed book.

It is a steep descent from the heights that Fuseli roamed to the pedestrian activity of a modern professional portrait painter. Mr. Albert Slater has written an encouraging book addressed to those students who "have an unquenchable desire to paint portraits, coupled with a certain gift, or flair, for doing so." The first five chapters are devoted to a history of portrait painting written in an informal discursive style; the remaining pages are filled with practical advice based on the author's wide experience. There are many illustrations, reproductions of distinguished portraits by the great masters, interspersed with examples of Mr. Slater's own work.

F. W. WENTWORTH-SHEILDS.



**THE CANTICLE OF THE ROSE**, by Edith Sitwell. *Macmillan*. 15s.

**AFTER THE BOMBING**, by Edmund Blunden. *Macmillan*. 6s.

**RIMBAUD : The problem of translation**, by Ben Belitt. *Sylvan Press*. 7s. 6d.

The full range of Dr. Sitwell's genius has never been better displayed than in this book of selected poems. The development of her style from *Façade* to *The Shadow of Cain* is fascinating to trace. There is a continual refinement of imagery and rhythm and a continual acquisition of more power to express deepening thought and emotion. It is a progress comparable to Yeats's, and, as with Yeats, her use of recurrent symbols becomes more and more potent as these symbols reveal to the reader the increasing universality of the poet's experience. Thus the symbols need less and less poetical explanation ; and consonant with this is the steadily increasing simplicity and grandeur of her rhythm: the simplicity of all great art.

True artists are of their time : but the mere cataloguing of contemporary phenomena does not make a poet contemporary. There must be a vital inner awareness of the tempo of the age—of its rhythms of thought and feeling and speech as well as of its trains and traffic lights. Dr. Sitwell's rhythms are the history of the last thirty years. Her use of language has always been original and alive. Some event, often of violence, may be needed to bring out the absolute genius of an artist. In Yeats's case it was the Irish rebellion ; in Dr. Sitwell's the atomic bombings. Such an event must, however, be *imagined* in order to become poetically dynamic, and only the finest talents have the power to imagine it whole. Dr. Sitwell's *The Shadow of Cain* is a great poem, and shows her to be a great poet.

It is clear that the 1914-1918 war was an event of such appalling horror to many of those who survived it that it shrivelled or damaged irreparably their powers of continued creative imagination, for it has come between them and

the welcoming of new experience and events. This blasting of the soul is apparent in the later poetry of Edmund Blunden. In this new collection one is aware only of a ghostly kind of creativeness haunting poems which have no real life. To me, at least, by far the best poem is a sonnet which is a reminiscence of the first war : and that in itself is a sad reflection. This is the sestet of "The Halted Battalion" :

Still I, as dreamer known, that morning saw  
The others round me taken with a dream.  
I wondered since that never one of them  
Recalls it ; but how should they ? We who  
draw

Picture and meaning are the dreamless, we  
Are sentinels of time while the rest are free.

These words are simple and direct. Yet in the nature poems and others he uses a heavy literary, or a whimsical pastiche eighteenth-century, diction :

Look not thus ever, tiny wretch,  
Dear child of long ago . . .

Most of the pieces in this book could have been written at any time since the death of Clare. Nevertheless in poems such as *Station Yard* or *Inter Arma* the ghost of poetry walks and is compulsive on the living.

Mr. Belitt's book (and, surely, Belitt must be a pseudonym for B. Litt. ?) is American, and the Lit. Crit. jargon of America is really rather awful :

Here the attempt has been to communicate poetry *as poems*, with the form and afflatus of the original translated not intact, but as the character of the language has demanded their eventuation in English.

It is a curious fact that, in an epoch of methodologies, the semantics of translation has so far gone unexamined.

Is it not time that the American literary world had the courage to write 'American' and not 'English' ? Mr. Belitt has provided four poems with word-for-word literal translations, and his own eventuations. There is far more poetry in the literals. Luckily it has taken about eight years to do these four pieces and by the time their methodology has been exhaustively examined we shall most likely be dead. But Rimbaud, in French, will be alive.

PATRIC DICKINSON

## BOOKS ON THE TABLE

The position here of Margaret Cole's *GROWING UP INTO REVOLUTION* (Longmans, Green, 15s.) makes amends for the tardy taking of the book from the table. Reluctance to read was due to a certain distaste for the 'intellectual left' with its infinite capacity for suffering by proxy. Roedean and Girton, mentally and spiritually no less than physically, are an iron curtain still, and must so be for a generation to come. If Mrs. Cole has not the properties of an oxyacetylene lamp, she has at least disarmed a toughened reader with her picture of the twentieth century, "completely stable and solid," as for her it was at its start, which soon "began to crack and change." Her personal reactions illumine and do not distort the events to which she and her husband have been so closely linked; Fabian research and "guild Socialism" being the double harness of the Coles and the energizing of Labour in power. Two more engaging qualities in these wary eyes are her devotion to G. K. Chesterton and the small space she gives to the detective novel period of G. D. H. and M. I. Cole. Then there is her honesty: in short—one who commenced by sharing the dislike of the girls at boarding school now finishes the book with a resolve to recommend it unreservedly here, there and everywhere.

**Keeping calm**

Mrs. Cole impresses not least by her level-headed attitude towards Russia. Vernon Bartlett, who has recently been *EAST OF THE IRON CURTAIN* (Latimer House, 8s. 6d.), strives valiantly to keep his sorely-tried sense of proportion as he journeys from Trieste through Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Albania and Finland. He too makes free use of his personal experience to fortify his belief that "there won't be war," his plea for tolerance and his warnings on "why

Communism might win." But he believes, "with patience, with understanding of the injustices that have made the communist leaders so intolerant, with appreciation of the good that is interwoven with the evil, men will prevent the ultimate success of a political machine designed to convert them into masses."—Walter Duranty in *STALIN & Co.* (Secker & Warburg, 12s. 6d.) was not expected to exhibit signs of the current hysteria tainting the utterances of so many American spokesmen. And his resistance adds enormously to the authority that emanates from twenty years as the Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*, fluent Russian and first-hand acquaintance with Soviet leaders, newspapers and speeches. He traces the Politburo from its "insignificant origin" to its position as Marshal Stalin's "chosen instrument, the absolute master of Russia." The delineation of character plays a prominent part in the biographies of the thirteen members, with their converging activities and their dedication to Communism.—"The sudden row in the summer of 1948 between the Cominform majority and Marshal Tito's Yugoslav Communist Party . . . made gay reading for the non-communist world," says Walter Duranty. In *TITO, George Bilainkin* (Williams & Norgate, 10s. 6d.) tells how it all came about. The author, who in 1948 toured four of the Iron Curtain countries as special correspondent of the *Daily Mail* begins before that bewildering time when, as he says, "General Michailovic lost his place as favourite in the B.B.C. bulletins," and brings a story which is not yet closed up to date with the present popularity, outside Russia, of Marshal Tito. He sensibly adds the actual correspondence of the quarrel and other pertinent pronouncements upon it. Mr. Bilainkin's style lends itself to a too frequent asking and answering of questions, but if the first smacks of rhetoric, the answers are



given soberly and plainly enough to inspire confidence of their trustworthiness.

### From China to Button Snap

It is a relief to retreat from muddy ideologies into Edward Hume's uncomplicated China in *DOCTORS EAST AND DOCTORS WEST* (George Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.). Here is the record of an American's success in founding a medical school there, regardless of political trends and in the face of tradition, in the early years of this century. As has happened in the case of other and more famous medical men, this tally of hazard, of incredible courage and patience, would have come better as biography. In commending the book then to all who enjoy adventure stories, there is one honourable reservation; the more unconsciously heroic the deeds the less fitted is the hero to talk of them himself.—Who shall say that Elia, burdened and bludgeoned, does not come within this category? The lately dead Reginald L. Hine pays tribute to *CHARLES LAMB AND HIS HERTFORDSHIRE* (Dent, 18s.) in about equal parts. Hine's style is sometimes too guilty of the sincerest form of flattery—compare, for example: "From sheep, by a not unnatural transition, we must pass to mutton" with Lamb tiresomely designating the French man of letters as Chatty Briant—but he triumphantly achieves the purpose of his laborious research by establishing "how deep were Lamb's roots" in the country. This sumptuous volume, thick and glossy uncut pages, gold sprinkled spine and cover, half-tone illustrations and lavishly scattered drawings and all, will be cherished by members of the Charles Lamb Society and Elia lovers generally, and is a gracious memorial of Hine himself.

### Women's corner

The clothes that Mary Lamb might have worn are depicted in *GALLERY OF FASHION* (Batsford, 6s. 6d.), with the reproduced plates of Heideloff and Ackermann made between 1790 and

1822. Sacheverell Sitwell's Introduction meanders pleasantly, that is without pedantry, through many aspects of social history, even as it does among the illustrations in the book, and Doris Langley Moore adds her considerable quota of dress lore in her "Notes on the Plates." The execution of the detail of these calls for attentive admiration, the styles—with headgear no sillier than this decade's hats—for something like awe.—Another social phenomenon of the period inspires Katharine West's *CHAPTER OF GOVERNESSES* (Cohen & West, 12s. 6d.) which she subtitles "A Study of the Governess in English Fiction 1800-1949." From Maria Edgeworth, Jane Austen, Mrs. Craik and Lady Blessington, through early and mid-Victorian giants like Dickens, the Brontës, Thackeray, George Eliot and Trollope, and the later Samuel Butler, Conan Doyle, Conrad and Henry James, she comes to V. Sackville-West, Rosamund Lehmann, E. M. Delafeld, Angela Thirkell and I. Compton-Burnett. Nor are the lesser novelists forgotten. Most readers therefore will be able to find at least one of their favourites. This is a book which, in the overworked idiom of the screen, "every woman will love."

### Vital "decadence"

Still hovering, as moth to flame, around the nineteenth century, Edwardians who regard its second half as the "time to be born" will delight in a shelf companion for *The Best of Beardsley*, published by The Bodley Head just over a year ago. The next best thing to being able to browse among the 13 numbers of the *Yellow Book* is to read straight through *THE YELLOW BOOK: A Selection*, compiled by Norman Denny (*The Bodley Head*, 15s.). The compiler has wisely omitted familiar highlights and made a truly representative selection. As well as "A Defence of Cosmetics" by Max Beerbohm at his most urbane, there is Ernest Dowson's unconvincing trifle about a guardian and his ward. Then Richard le Gallienne, Baron Corvo and



Arthur Symons are obvious inclusions, but John Buchan, Arnold Bennett and Kenneth Grahame are also here. The art section, too, without neglecting Beardsley, Beerbohm and Sickert, has Leighton, Laurence Housman and Muirhead Bone. And, as a final inducement, "the original format has been exactly followed" with "the bulk of the pages printed from the original plates."

### Mithraic beginnings

Brooding over the reproductions of Beardsley's "Mrs. Patrick Campbell" and his "*La Dame aux Camélias*", of Sickert's "Old Bedford Music Hall" and his "Charley's Aunt", prepares the way for a welcome addition to the histories of the British stage. THEATRE TAPESTRY by Henry Gibbs (*Jarrollds*. 21s.) is a voluminous piece of needlework, for it stretches from A.D. 45 to A.D. 1950, with chapters on Egyptian and Graeco-Roman play-acting. His 13 close-packed double-columned pages of index and the lists of sources are thus seen to be no more than needful. They also prove how wide has been the reading on the subject of an "outsider", as he calls himself, and how firmly based is the urge of "a labour of love for the theatre." This shines as brightly as do the numerous illustrations (many of which might have been placed more effectively in the appropriate text, and one, a portrait of the author, omitted) and justifies, if for no other reason, the writing of a book which so easily communicates its enjoyment.

### The words

It was a happy thought of Frederick S. Boas to collect and edit SONGS AND LYRICS FROM THE ENGLISH MASQUES AND LIGHT OPERAS (*Harrap*. 8s. 6d.) as a sequel to his *Songs and Lyrics from the English Playbooks*. Again 1900 is the latest date, but in the other direction there are extracts from Jacobean and Caroline masques, with a whole section

for Ben Jonson. Then from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there are many examples from light opera. Gay and Gilbert are the blazing stars in this firmament. Seen, for once, apart from the music, the conviction of how nearly these two came to writing poetry returns overwhelmingly. This applies especially to W. S. Gilbert who must often have deliberately used his extraordinary gift for intricate rhyme to avoid the deeps.

### A playwright named Tennessee

From

Is Life a boon?  
If so, it must befall  
That Death, whene'er he call,  
Must call too soon.

to Tennessee Williams is a world away. Yet some of the one act plays of this ex-lift boy, shoe clerk, telephone operator and waiter, among them *The Last of my Solid Gold Watches*, *Lord Byron's Love Letter* and *The Purification*, do take life and develop from a poet's insight into human nature. In 27 WAGONS FULL OF COTTON—what titles he thinks up!—(*John Lehmann*. 8s. 6d.) there are 11 of these plays which, chronologically or not, are curtain raisers to *The Glass Menagerie* that ought to have had a longer run in London. No such disability will afflict Tennessee Williams's A STREETCAR NAMED DESIRE which is now published (also by *John Lehmann*. 7s. 6d.) for the solace of those who have no hope of attaining to the Aldwych theatre. Here is one of them, an ardent theatregoer who, having read the play, could not now care less, even for Vivien Leigh's distinguished sake. Sordid, grim and pathetic as is the theme, theatrical potentialities have been wrung out of it by the author, and horrified pity out of the reader. Was this the playwright's intention, or does he want us to love his characters?

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